U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C. 20535

August 25, 2026

NOAH SCHEER
[redacted]

FOIPA Request No.: 1519014-000
Subject: ARNONI, MENACHEM SAMUEL

Dear Noah Scheer:

The FBI has completed its review of records subject to the Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) that are responsive to your request. The enclosed documents were reviewed under the FOIPA, Title 5, United States Code, Section 552/552a. Below you will find check boxes under the appropriate statute headings which indicate the types of exemptions asserted to protect information which is exempt from disclosure. The appropriate exemptions are noted on the enclosed pages next to redacted information. In addition, a deleted page information sheet was inserted to indicate where pages were withheld entirely and identify which exemptions were applied. The checked exemption boxes used to withhold information are further explained in the enclosed Explanation of Exemptions.

Section 552

☐ (b)(1)
☐ (b)(2)
☑ (b)(3)
50 U.S.C. §3024(h)(1)
☐ (b)(4)
☐ (b)(5)
☑ (b)(6)

☐ (b)(7)(A)
☐ (b)(7)(B)
☑ (b)(7)(C)
☐ (b)(7)(D)
☑ (b)(7)(E)
☐ (b)(7)(F)
☐ (b)(8)
☐ (b)(9)

Section 552a

☐ (d)(5)
☐ (j)(2)
☐ (k)(1)
☐ (k)(2)
☐ (k)(3)
☐ (k)(4)
☐ (k)(5)
☐ (k)(6)
☐ (k)(7)

128 page(s) were reviewed and 118 page(s) are being released.

Please see the paragraphs below for relevant information specific to your request as well as the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for standard responses applicable to all requests.

Based on the information you provided, we conducted a main and reference entity record search of the Central Records System (CRS) per our standard search policy. For more information about records searches and the standard search policy, see the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum General Information Section.

In response to your narrowed Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request, enclosed are the processed documents.

This is the final release of information responsive to your FOIPA request. This material is being provided to you at no charge.

Please refer to the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for additional standard responses applicable to your request. **"Part 1"** of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. **"Part 2"** includes additional standard responses that apply to all requests for records about yourself or any third-party individuals. **"Part 3"** includes general information about FBI records that you may find useful. Also enclosed is our Explanation of Exemptions.

Additional information about the FOIPA can be found at www.fbi.gov/foia. Should you have questions regarding your request, please feel free to contact fbi.foia@fbi.gov. Please reference the FOIPA Request number listed above in all correspondence concerning your request.

If you are not satisfied with the FBI's determination in response to this request, you may proceed under any or all of the following options:

- You may seek dispute resolution services through the FBI directly by emailing our FOIA Public Liaison at fbi.foia@fbi.gov. The subject heading should clearly state "Dispute Resolution Services." Please also cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified.

- You may contact the Office of Government Information Services (OGIS), who serves as the federal FOIA Ombudsman. The contact information for OGIS is as follows: Office of Government Information Services, National Archives and Records Administration, 8601 Adelphi Road-OGIS, College Park, Maryland 20740-6001, e-mail at ogis@nara.gov; telephone at 202-741-5770; toll free at 1-877-684-6448; or facsimile at 202-741-5769.

- You may file an administrative appeal by writing to the Director, Office of Information Policy (OIP), United States Department of Justice, 441 G Street, NW, 6th Floor, Washington, D.C. 20530, or you may submit an appeal through OIP's FOIA STAR portal by creating an account following the instructions on OIP's website: www.justice.gov/oip/submit-and-track-request-or-appeal. **Pursuant to 28 C.F.R. § 16.8(a), your appeal must be postmarked or electronically transmitted within ninety (90) days of the date of this response to your request.** If you submit your appeal by mail, both the letter and the envelope should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Act Appeal." Please reference the FOIPA Request Number listed above in your correspondence so it may be easily identified. If possible, please provide a copy of your original request and this response letter with your appeal.

Note: Utilizing the FBI's dispute resolution services or requesting mediation through OGIS does not toll the ninety (90) day limit to file a timely appeal with OIP.

Sincerely,

Christina L Driver

Christina Driver
Acting Section Chief
Record/Information Dissemination Section
Information Management Division

Enclosures

FBI FOIPA Addendum

As referenced in our letter responding to your Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request, the FBI FOIPA Addendum provides information applicable to your request. Part 1 of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. Part 2 includes standard responses that apply to requests for records about individuals to the extent your request seeks the listed information. Part 3 includes general information about FBI records, searches, and programs.

Part 1: The standard responses below apply to all requests:

(i) **5 U.S.C. § 552(c).** Congress excluded three categories of law enforcement and national security records from the requirements of the FOIPA [5 U.S.C. § 552(c)]. FBI responses are limited to those records subject to the requirements of the FOIPA. Additional information about the FBI and the FOIPA can be found on the www.fbi.gov/foia website.

(ii) **Intelligence Records**. To the extent your request seeks records of intelligence sources, methods, or activities, the FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(1), (b)(3), and as applicable to requests for records about individuals, PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(1), (b)(3), and (j)(2)]. The mere acknowledgment of the existence or nonexistence of such records is itself a classified fact protected by FOIA exemption (b)(1) and/or would reveal intelligence sources, methods, or activities protected by exemption (b)(3) [50 USC § 3024(h)(1)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that any such records do or do not exist.

Part 2: The standard responses below apply to all requests for records on individuals:

(i) **Requests for Records about any Individual—Watch Lists.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of any individual's name on a watch list pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(7)(E) and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that watch list records do or do not exist.

(ii) **Requests for Records about any Individual—Witness Security Program Records.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records which could identify any participant in the Witness Security Program pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(3) and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(3), 18 U.S.C. 3521, and (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that such records do or do not exist.

(iii) **Requests for Confidential Informant Records.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of confidential informant records pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(7)(D), (b)(7)(E), and (b)(7)(F) [5 U.S.C.§ § 552 (b)(7)(D), (b)(7)(E), and (b)(7)(F)] and Privacy Act exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C.§ 552a (j)(2)]. The mere acknowledgment of the existence or nonexistence of such records would reveal confidential informant identities and information, expose law enforcement techniques, and endanger the life or physical safety of individuals. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that such records do or do not exist.

Part 3: General Information:

(i) **Record Searches and Standard Search Policy.** The Record/Information Dissemination Section (RIDS) searches for reasonably described records by searching systems, such as the Central Records System (CRS), or locations where responsive records would reasonably be found. The CRS is an extensive system of records consisting of applicant, investigative, intelligence, personnel, administrative, and general files compiled by the FBI per its law enforcement, intelligence, and administrative functions. The CRS spans the entire FBI organization, comprising records of FBI Headquarters, FBI Field Offices, and FBI Legal Attaché Offices (Legats) worldwide; Electronic Surveillance (ELSUR) records are included in the CRS. The standard search policy is a search for main entity records in the CRS. Unless specifically requested, a standard search does not include a search for reference entity records or administrative records of previous FOIPA requests.

  a. *Main Entity Records* – created for individuals or non-individuals who are the subjects or the focus of an investigation
  b. *Reference Entity Records*- created for individuals or non-individuals who are associated with a case but are not known subjects or the focus of an investigation

(ii) **FBI Records.** Founded in 1908, the FBI carries out a dual law enforcement and national security mission. As part of this dual mission, the FBI creates and maintains records on various subjects; however, the FBI does not maintain records on every person, subject, or entity.

(iii) **Foreseeable Harm Standard.** As amended in 2016, the Freedom of Information Act provides that a federal agency may withhold responsive records only if: (1) the agency reasonably foresees that disclosure would harm an interest protected by one of the nine exemptions that FOIA enumerates, or (2) disclosure is prohibited by law (5 United States Code, Section 552(a)(8)(A)(i)). The FBI considers this foreseeable harm standard in the processing of its requests.

(iv) **Requests for Criminal History Records or Rap Sheets.** The Criminal Justice Information Services (CJIS) Division provides Identity History Summary Checks – often referred to as a criminal history record or rap sheet. These criminal history records are not the same as material in an investigative "FBI file." An Identity History Summary Check is a listing of information taken from fingerprint cards and documents submitted to the FBI in connection with arrests, federal employment, naturalization, or military service. For a fee, individuals can request a copy of their Identity History Summary Check. Forms and directions can be accessed at www.fbi.gov/services/cjis. Additionally, requests can be submitted electronically at www.edo.cjis.gov. For additional information, please contact CJIS directly at (304) 625-5590.

EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552

(b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;

(b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;

(b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;

(b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;

(b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;

(b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;

(b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information (A) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, (B) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, (C) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, (D) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, (E) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or (F) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;

(b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or

(b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a

(d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;

(j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;

(k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;

(k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;

(k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;

(k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;

(k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;

(k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;

(k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.

FBI/DOJ

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1519014-000

Total Deleted Page(s) = 8
Page 13 ~ Duplicate;
Page 14 ~ Duplicate;
Page 15 ~ Duplicate;
Page 16 ~ Duplicate;
Page 17 ~ Duplicate;
Page 18 ~ Duplicate;
Page 19 ~ Duplicate;
Page 20 ~ Duplicate;

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Mobilize in Detroit November 5-8

LOCAL SPONSORS
(partial listing)

Rev. Albert Cleage, Jr.
Carl Haessler
James Lafferty
Charles Lockwood
Paul Lowinger, M.D.
Ernest Mazey
Unitarian ministers:
Bob Eddy
Frank Gentile
Dr. Tracy Pullman

WAYNE STATE U.
FACULTY MEMBERS:

Leon Brown
William Bunge
Charles Cotman
Ronald Formisano
Harold Fromm
David Herreshoff
John Laffey
Max Mark
Lynn Parsons
Norman Pollack
Geraldine P. Rubenstein
Stanley Shapiro
William Shuter
Leo Stoller
Athan Theoharis
John Weiss
David Wineman
Ken Wylie

U. OF M.
FACULTY MEMBERS:

Julian Gendell
Tom Mayer
Marshall Sahlins
Arnold Kaufman

for Peace in Vietnam
for Economic Justice
for Human Rights

Saturday Nov. 5 –

MASS DEMONSTRATION & RALLY!

2:00 p.m. March from Central Methodist Church (Woodward & Adams) to COBO HALL

3:30 p.m. RALLY at Cobo Hall

Sunday Nov. 6 – "Hoot for Peace"
Upper DeRoy Auditorium – W.S.U.
8:00 p.m.

(OVER)

Afro-American Unity Movement, Artists Workshop, Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Detroit Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Fifth Estate, Socialis Workers Party, Students for a Democratic Society, Students for Action Now, Veterans Against the War in Vietnam, VOICE (U. of M.), Wayne Committee to End the War in Vietnam, W. E. B Du Bois Club, Young Socialist Alliance.

The LHM is classified confidential to protect the identity of DE T-2 and DE T-4, who are Informants of continuing value and whose exposure could be detrimental to the national defense.

Confidential

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Detroit, Michigan
November 10, 1966

[redacted] b6 b7C

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted]
ON 10-31-92
10-12-95

CONFIDENTIAL

Re: November 8 Mobilization Committee

Detroit Committee to End the War in Viet Nam

Reference is made to the memoranda, dated October 5 and November 8, 1966, at Detroit. u

DE T-1, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on November 7, 1966, that the musical fund raising program to cover expenses incurred during the four days of activities in the Detroit, Michigan area and called the "Hoot for Peace" began at 8:00 p.m. on November 6, 1966, in the Upper De Roy Auditorium on the Wayne State University (WSU) campus, Detroit. This consisted solely of a program of entertainment which ceased at 11:00 p.m.

DE T-1 said there were approximately 130 persons in attendance at this affair. He observed the following:

Frank Lovell; Sarah Lovell; Sarah Rosenshine; Irving Kirsch. Michigan

DE T-2, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on October 31, 1966, that the latter four individuals are all members of the Detroit Branch Socialist Workers Party (DBSWP).

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450. u

A characterization of the DBSWP is contained in the appendix attached hereto. u

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY [redacted]
REASON FOR
FCIM, II, 1-
DATE OF RE
DECLASSIFICATION 11/16/86

[redacted] b6 b7C

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) OF [illegible] DATE 3/19/74 GAU SMM

CONFIDENTIAL
GROUP I
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

ENCLOSURE

62-111181-165

Re: November 8 Mobilization Committee

Detroit Committee to End the
War in Viet Nam

CONFIDENTIAL

DE T-1 advised on November 7, 1966, that the "teach-in" against the war in Viet Nam began on the afternoon of this date in various rooms on the campus of WSU in Detroit. At 6:00 p.m. the main portion of the "teach-in" began in the Community Arts Auditorium. A leaflet furnished by this source, which identifies the speakers at the "teach-in", is attached hereto. The leaflet identifies the speakers as follows:

Floyd McKissick - National Director of CORE

James Aronson, Editor - "National Guardian"

M. S. Arnoni, Editor - "Minority of One"

Bradford Lyttle - Committee on Non-Violent Action

Barry Sheppard, Editor - "The Militant"

Joe Mora, brother of Dennis Mora, one of the
Fort Hood Three

Reverend Albert Cleage

Professor Tom Mayer

Professor Arnold Kaufman

Professor David Herreshoff

MICHIGAN

A characterization of the "National Guardian" and "The Militant" appears in the appendix attached hereto. 4

The "Detroit News", a daily newspaper of general circulation published in Detroit, in its issue of March 13, 1966, carried an article in which David Herreshoff admitted that he was the faculty advisor for the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) Chapter at WSU and also was a "red card carrying" DCA member. 4

Re: November 8 Mobilization Committee

Detroit Committee to End the
War in Viet Nam

CONFIDENTIAL

A characterization of the DCA appears in the appendix attached hereto.

DE T-1 also advised on November 7, 1966, that approximately 300 persons attended the "teach-in" in the Community Arts Auditorium which began at 6:00 p.m. This source said that he observed Donald Lobsinger and several other individuals with Lobsinger whom he assumed to be members of the anti-Communist organization Breakthrough enter the auditorium. At approximately 8:20 p.m. a fight erupted in the rear of the auditorium between several of the Breakthrough members and about 10 of the participants in the "teach-in". DE T-1 said the disturbance lasted for about five minutes and was broken up by WSU campus security police. Three persons were arrested by the WSU authorities and turned over to the Detroit Police Department. This source identified the arrested individuals as John McDaniel, 41 years of age, of 17495 Common Road, Roseville~~, Michigan,~~ and Richard Campbell, 18, of ~~4163 Longton, Lincoln Park, Michigan,~~ members of Breakthrough and James Griffin, Jr., a participant in the "teach-in". The latter three individuals were held on charges of disturbing the peace. According to this source, the cases against these three are to be presented to the Wayne County prosecutor, Detroit, on November 9, 1966.

B. APPROX. 1925

B. APPROX. 1948

Michigan

DE T-2 advised on October 31, 1966, that James Griffin, Jr. is a member of the DBSWP.

Michigan

DE T-1 advised that among others, he observed Professor William Bunge and Marc Nowakowski in attendance at the "teach-in".

DE T-3, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on August 26, 1961, that William Bunge was at that time a member of the Communist Party (CP) at Olympia, Washington.

DE T-4, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on March 30, 1966, that Marc Nowakowski was a member of the Youth Club, Michigan District CP.

Re: November 8 Mobilization Committee

Detroit Committee to End the
War in Viet Nam

CONFIDENTIAL

DE T-5, who has furnished insufficient information to determine his reliability, advised on November 9, 1966, that the "teach-in" at the Community Arts Auditorium on November 7, 1966, began at 6:00 p.m. and concluded at 11:00 p.m. This source said that the speakers identified on the leaflet were all present at the "teach-in". The concluding speech of the night was delivered by Floyd McKissick. DE T-5 advised that Floyd McKissick was paid $70.00 by the Detroit Committee to End the War in Viet Nam (DCEWV) for his appearance at the "teach-in" and he was promised that a check for $300.00 would be forwarded to him at a later date.

DE T-5 said that he observed the following persons in attendance at the "teach-in":

MICHIGAN

Evelyn Sell; Marilyn Levin; Irving Kirsch; Evelyn Kirsch; Frank Lovell; Sarah Lovell; Dorothy Breitman; Sarah Rosenshine; Carol Lipman; Joe Henry; Linda Belisle; Derrick Morrison.

DE T-2 advised on October 31, 1966, that the above individuals are all members of the DBSWP.

DE T-5 advised on November 9, 1966, that one member of the DCEWV was to have been designated as a "dispatcher" and to have been present in the DCEWV Headquarters at 1101 West Warren, Detroit, throughout the day on November 8, 1966, to direct volunteers for the mass leaflet distribution. The latter source said that he had understood that this phase of the four day demonstration was a failure with few, if any, volunteers participating in the leaflet distribution.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. (U

Re: November 8 Mobilization Committee

Detroit Committee to End the War in Viet Nam

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

DETROIT BRANCH, SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)

A source advised on May 12, 1966, that the Detroit Branch of the SWP is affiliated with the National SWP and follows its policies and directives. It was organized in 1940, and is currently active in Detroit, Michigan, with headquarters at Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Detroit, Michigan.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX

"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., on page 193 cites "National Guardian" as being "established by the American Labor Party in 1947, as an 'progressive' weekly * * *. Although it denies having any affiliate with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia".

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial By Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, August 25, 1956, p. 12)

CONFIDENTIAL

Re: November 8 Mobilization Committee

Detroit Committee to End the
War in Viet Nam

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"THE MILITANT"

"The Militant" is a weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to its constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anticommunism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people".

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC has varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

Mobilize in Detroit November 5-8

for Peace in Vietnam
for Economic Justice
for Human Rights

Saturday Nov. 5 —

MASS DEMONSTRATION & RALLY!

2:00 p.m. March from Central Methodist Church (Woodward & Adams) to COBO HALL

3:30 p.m. RALLY at Cobo Hall

Sunday Nov. 6 — "Hoot for Peace"

Upper DeRoy Auditorium - W.S.U.
8:00 p.m.

(OVER)

LOCAL SPONSORS
(partial listing)

Rev. Albert Cleage, Jr.
Carl Haessler
James Lafferty
Charles Lockwood
Paul Lowinger, M.D.
Ernest Mazey
Unitarian ministers:
Bob Eddy
Frank Gentile
Dr. Tracy Pullman

WAYNE STATE U.
FACULTY MEMBERS:

Leon Brown
William Bunge
Charles Cotman
Ronald Formisano
Harold Fromm
David Herreshoff
John Laffey
Max Mark
Lynn Parsons
Norman Pollack
Geraldine P. Rubenstein
Stanley Shapiro
William Shuter
Leo Stoller
Athan Theoharis
John Weiss
David Wineman
Ken Wylie

U. OF M.
FACULTY MEMBERS:

Julian Gendell
Tom Mayer
Marshall Sahlins
Arnold Kaufman

Afro-American Unity Movement, Artists Workshop, Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Detroit Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Fifth Estate, Sociali Workers Party, Students for a Democratic Society, Students for Action Now, Veterans Against the War in Vietnam, VOICE (U. of M.), Wayne Committee to End the War in Vietnam, W. E. B Du Bois Club, Young Socialist Alliance.

MONDAY, Nov 7 Wayne State University

TEACH-IN against the War in Vietnam

2:30 - 6:00 In Mc Gregor Memorial

Symposium on: Soldiers & the War 2:30, rm. fg
Afro-Americans & the War 4:00, "
Napalm 2:30, rm. j
Civil Liberties & the War 4:00 "

6:00 on TEACH-IN

Community Arts Auditorium

Speakers -

* **FLOYD McKISSICK** National Director - CORE

JAMES ARONSON Editor - NATIONAL GUARDIAN
M S ARNONI Editor - MINORITY OF ONE
BRADFORD LYTTLE COMMITTEE ON NON-VIOLENT ACTION
BARRY SHEPPARD Editor - THE MILITANT
JOE MORA Brother of Dennis Mora, one of the Fort Hood Three
Rev. Albert Cleage
~~Prof Tom Mayer~~
Prof Arnold Kaufman
Prof David Herreshoff

Film - "TIME of the LOCUST" documentary on the War

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Rev. Albert Cleage	
Prof Tom Mayer	
Prof Arnold Kaufman	
Prof David Herreshoff	

Film - "TIME of the LOCUST" documentary on the War

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 11/10/66

REC 54

Transmit the following in ________________________
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL   AM RM

~~Confidential~~

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted]
~~ON 10-31-~~
10-12-95

b6
b7C

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) DATE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI ~~(62-110039)~~

FROM: SAC, DETROIT (100-33600)

CLASSIFIED BY
EXTEND
REASON FCIM II
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION
11/10/86
2333 GAT
5779 DAA

NOV. 8 MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(IS)
(OO: Albany)

DETROIT COMMITTEE TO END
THE WAR IN VIET NAM (DCEWV)
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(IS)
[redacted]

b3
b7E

Re Detroit teletype, 11/8/66; and Detroit airtel and LHM, 11/8/66.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 12 copies of a LHM and two for Albany setting forth a resume of the final three days of activities in the Detroit, Mich. area in connection with the 11/8/66 mobilization which was sponsored by the DCEWV. Two copies of the LHM are being furnished to Secret Service and G-2, Detroit, and one copy to OSI and the USA, Detroit, and NIS, Chicago, Ill.

The sources used in the LHM are:

DE T-1 is [redacted]
University

b7D

ENCLOSURE

DE T-2 is [redacted]

DE T-3 is

DE T-4 is

DE T-5 is under development as a PSI.

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NOV 14 1966

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AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI
RAO
DATE FORW: 11-15-66
HOW FORW: RS
BY:

4 - Bureau (Enc. - 12)
2 - Albany (100-19664) (Enc. - 2) ~~Confidential~~
3 - Detroit

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
5010-104

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (62-105913) DATE: 7/10/61

FROM : SAC, NEWARK (157-609)

SUBJECT: THE MINORITY OF ONE, INC.
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Richmond letter to Director dated 6/15/61.

On 6/27/61, [redacted] Assistant Superintenda b7D of Mails, Passaic Post Office, Passaic, N.J. (whose identity should be protected in outside communications) advised that P. O. Box 544 was rented on 5/1/61 to M. ~~S.~~ ARNONI. This was for a publication, "The Minority of One" a monthly publication with addresses at 77 Pennington Ave., Passaic. The home address of Mr. ARNONI, who rented the P. O. Box, was also listed as 77 Pennington Ave., Passaic, N.J. The persons to have keys to the box are R. ~~J.~~ ARNONI and M. S. ARNONI.

On 6/23/61, Captain SIDNEY ZISLIN of the Passaic, N.J., PD, telephonically contacted SA BRYAN F. JINNETT, JR. and advised him that a Mr. EATON of the Chamber of Commerce, Passaic, N.J., had contacted him. ZISLIN stated that EATON told him a Miss KRAYLING, telephone SW 6-6949, told him that her printing company had received some orders for printing material for "Friends of the Minority of One", 77 Pennington Ave., Passaic, N.J. She advised that a Mr. ARNONI is the head of "The Minority of One." Miss KRAYLING advised Mr. EATON that this material was very peculiar and appeared to be out of order in some way.

Mr. EATON told Captain ZISLIN that 77 Pennington Ave., is owned by a Mr. ROTHBARD, 1 Salem Park, Elizabeth, N.J., telephone FL 1-0545.

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

Captain ZISLIN advised that he talked to Mr. ROTHBARD, who stated he did not know anything about ARNONI.

RUC
3-Bureau (Enc. 3)(RM)
2-Richmond (157-121)(RM)
1-Newark (157-609)
JRL:mpm
(6)

3 ENCLOSURE

1cc file with enc

REC- 94

62-105913-29

EX-107

FBI
25 JUL 11 1961

CENTRAL RESEARCH

57 AUG 11 1961

On 6/26/61, Captain ZISLIN again called and stated that he had received copies of the publication,put out by Mr. ARNONI of Richmond, Va.

On 6/27/61, Captain ZISLIN was contacted and furnished three copies of the publication, "The Minority of One." These are VolumeII, number 4, Volume II, number 10, and Volume II, number 11. They are for the months of April, October and November, 1960.

Captain ZISLIN stated that he had received these from Mr. ROBERT EATON of the Passaic Chamber of Commerce, 20 Broadway, Passaic, N.J., telephone PR 7-0700. He stated that Mr. EATON claimed he believed this publication appears to be a Communist one or is dealing in Communist propaganda against the United States. Captain ZISLIN furnished the three copies to the FBI for whatever action we deemed appropriate.

The three editions of this publications are being forwarded to the Bureau so that the Central Research Desk may examine them.

THE MINORITY OF ONE

Independent Monthly Publication, Dedicated to the Elimination of All Thought Restrictions Except for the Truth

"There was truth and there was untruth, and if you clung to the truth even against the whole world, you were not mad."—George Orwell

Vol. II, No. 4 (5) | Copyright, 1960 THE MINORITY OF ONE, INC. | Address for subscriptions and correspondence: P. O. Box 6594, Richmond 30, Va. | Editor: M. S. Arnoni | April, 1960

INTRODUCTORY COPY
25 CENTS

Adenauer's Proxy

Germany Back to May 10, 1941

On May 10, 1941 Hitler's successor-designate, Rudolf Hess, parachuted into Scotland in a vain attempt to stop the Anglo-German war and turn the forces of the newly reconciled parties against the Soviet Union. Since then, history has written quite a few chapters: Germany surrendered unconditionally and was demilitarized, while yesterday's allies became irreconcilable antagonists.

The circumstances under which Germany was not only allowed but also prompted to rearm are obscured by propagandistic claims and counter-claims. It is an uncontested fact, however, that even before Germany's disarmament was decided upon in Potsdam and even before World War II was over, certain Western circles were inclined to take another look at Rudolf Hess's mission. Winston Churchill's self-recorded contemplations are quite revealing on this matter.

It was not long after the Potsdam agreements were signed that Rudolf Hess's message became in substance the leading light of Western policy with respect to Germany. German nationalism has been encouraged with all the determination and aid our Government could muster. Nor have we had any objections to German vindictiveness, provided it could be diverted away from us.

Of course, there are many differences between Dr. Konrad Adenauer and Adolf Hitler, the main difference being that Adenauer is pro-American, at least for as long as necessary to rearm West Germany. There are other differences: Adenauer respects certain human rights for which Hitler had no regard at all. But there are also significant similarities: in foreign affairs both relied, with equal unscrupulousness, on the bare might of German arms.

In substance, Dr. Adenauer's philosophy, which he has been pursuing with iron-like consistency, is that the worse the international situation the better for Germany. He is the apolitical politician, pursuing military rather than political policies. He favors any situation which would "justify" additional strength for West Germany. Adenauer does not believe the time to be ripe for defining German goals—rather he conceives this to be a preparatory period during which German forces are built and consolidated.

This explains Adenauer's almost automatic opposition to any diplomatic initiative that might relax international tension. While paying lip service to

(*Continued on page 14*)

U.S.A., U.S.S.R.: THE "CLASSLESS" SOCIETIES

A socio-economic division of the world into communist and capitalistic nations is an erroneous oversimplification of a complex dichotomy within which individual nations display varied structures. In the communist camp they vary from the *"advanced"* socialism of the Soviet Union to the still experimental and less uniform stage of the Chinese revolution and the East-European nations. In the *"capitalistic"* camp the systems are even more diversified: they consist of the uniquely American version versus the capitalism of the British, French, and other nations that has long since resigned itself to partial state intervention and compromise with the Welfare State, the mixed economy of Sweden which includes sectors of cooperative syndicalism, Israel with its communistic sectors purely in the economic sense, and the wide array of newly independent nations which are fervently experimenting along the lines of the Swedish and Israeli tendencies.

Among all these various economic systems there are only two countries which claim to be classless: the United States and the Soviet Union. To be exact, there is a difference between their respective claims: while the Soviet Union claims to be classless, the United States concedes the existence of socio-economic classes but contends their interests to complement each other harmoniously for the spontaneous good of all.

The Soviet claim derives from a doctrinaire refusal to evaluate reality as it actually developed in the course of the communist experiment, clinging to theories perceived in the abstract about a century ago. The fallacy of this has been most effectively exposed by the former theoretician of Yugoslav Communists, Milovan Djilas, in his classic work, *The New Class.**

The American theory of spontaneous harmony among classes, which is a variation of the Soviet claim to classlessness, derives from no doctrinaire consistency. The classic theoreticians of free enterprise never maintained that a natural harmony existed among socio-economic groups; some of them, like Ricardo, even attempted to trace the pattern of their conflicts and encounters. Natural compliance among classes is modern-day propaganda rather than sociological and economic fact.

What this unscientific contention has come to serve is best illustrated by its principal achievement: American labor has been deprived of political representation and effectiveness. Although labor is organized in trade unions, the unions themselves are effectively apoliticized. Not only are they prevented from establishing themselves as, or becoming a part of, a political party; the law even suppresses direct political activity on their part: provisions of the Taft-Hartley law forbid contributions

(*Continued on page 2*)

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* Published by Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1957.

Exercising Citizenship

Why Abstain from Voting?

The most essential political prerogative of the individual in a truly democratic society is exercised in the voting booth. The public is reminded of this truism before each election of its legislators and executives. By the act of voting the citizen is supposed to decide the most important issues affecting him as an individual and as a member of society. In the balance hang his and his fellow-man's welfare, and at times even their lives.

While normally all this argues for the citizen's participation in elections, at times these same arguments must be evoked against his casting his vote. When the truly important public issues are withheld from the ballot, an election becomes no more than a pretense of democracy, a misleading and misrepresenting procedure, an invisible chain around the citizen's wrist and mind. It becomes a diversionist maneuver on the part of the oligarchy which, in letting the electorate choose between alternatives on relatively minor, inconsequential matters, reserves for itself the effective power of deciding the truly pertinent and important issues. A fraud is committed on the public, rendering it insensitive to its lack of political influence. The act of voting becomes an empty ritual.

The American public will take part in this kind of election in November. None of the truly important domestic and foreign issues will be decided on that occasion. None of the truly fateful alternatives will be presented to the public through the choice of candidates. One would have to employ a hair-splitting sensitivity to nuances to detect any differences in the social programs of the two presidenital candidate-teams. Neither the basic issue of the government's social and economic responsibility nor that of promoting peaceful international relations are in dispute between them.

The elections will, therefore, decide about nothing more than the political future of several unremitting status seekers, whose personal distinction and ethics are more the image-creating work of public relations men than the reflection of their actual lives and mentalities.

Under these circumstances the individual citizen has no way of making the elections meaningful to himself or to society. Yet, there is one way he can still make his voice count to a degree—which is better than no degree at all. He can abstain from voting and thereby demonstrate that he was not duped by the misrepresenting oligarchy, that they did not succeed in making him believe in his political efficacy.

Such a protest is the more expressive because the percentage of eligible Americans participating in national elections has always been relatively small. In 1948 only 51.5% participated, in 1956 only 60.4%.

Evidently, neither the Democrats nor the Republicans constitute the largest party; 40-50% of the American electorate are the silenced, boycotted by the communication media dissenters, oppositionists and abstainers.

The smaller the number of actual voters, the more the entire fraudulent system is exposed for what it truly is.

In the presidential elections of 1960 the only meaningful gesture the eligible voter can make is to abstain from casting his vote.

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Rocks Defend Polaris

By Jeanne S. Bagby

In July, the Polaris submarine missile was successfully fired and got a great fanfare from the press, including the usual intimate, behind-the-scene reports on the men involved. Nobody mentioned the other side of the picture, the small group of dedicated pacifists who have been demonstrating since June 10, beginning with a walk from New York to New London, Conn., where both the building yards and the submarine base are located. Their activities have remained localized, so that only the press in that area has seen fit to report on them; but there has been plenty going on at Polaris Action, as the summer-long project is called.

During the very first large demonstration on June 18th, in which about 25 pickets with signs protesting U.S. military policy marched before the Electric Boat Company's gates, there was both violent reaction and favorable response. While many of the signs were torn up, as soon as the workmen understood the non-violent nature of the participants, hundreds of leaflets were distributed by a staunch group including mothers and children as well as veteran pacifists like Jim Peck and Ammon Hennacy.

This was also the weekend of the Yale-Harvard boat race and the area was crowded with merry-makers. Two members sailed a sloop (called Satyagraha in honor of Gandhi's wonder-working principle of passive resistance) with END ARMS RACE lettered on its sail between the rows of yachts anchored to view the race. Also, a dory called the World Citizen, which had been rowed all the way from New York during 8 hectic days by three other pacifists, raised a large helium balloon painted with END THE MISSILE RACE —LET MANKIND LIVE. This was later shot down by someone on a yacht. Other participants in a canoe distributed leaflets to the aquatic crowd. That evening, several townspeople attended a public meeting at which Dave Dellinger, editor of LIBERATION, explained the reasons for the demonstrations and called on members for reports. While there was a good deal of arguing, as well as an interruption by an inebriated lady violently supporting Sen. Kennedy, it was not until a few days later that the violence really began to erupt.

On the 21st, three local hoodlums came into Polaris Action Headquarters, a tiny store in New London, and after much discussion (during which they boasted of their local underworld activities), they began a barrage of firecrackers, eggs, pies and other small missiles, none of which caused much harm. Later, however, the plate glass windows were broken by rocks. The next evening brought another barrage, but despite the damage and consternation, the pacifists stuck to their decision not to invoke police aid. This paid off later by helping enlist the sympathies of many townspeople who realized the sincerity of the demonstrators.

Meanwhile, the pacifists continued to leaflet periodically at the Boat Yard and were also holding a vigil outside the Submarine Base. In addition, they were making house-to-house calls, showing movies and talking to many visitors at Headquarters. On the weekend of July 23rd and the following Monday, when President Eisenhower was inspecting the missile sub Patrick Henry in Newport Harbor, several Polaris Action members manned a small skiff with two signs and motored as close around the sub as they were permitted by the Coast Guard. Another team consisted of the sloop Satyagraha and an automobile team, "armed" with leaflets, covered most of Cape Cod during July, including the naval base at Portsmouth. A fair amount of local publicity in newspapers, radio and TV was generated. And while one member sustained injuries from a beating by a young man who came to Headquarters to see if anyone would hit back, the program continued throughout August, ending in a 16-day training program in the techniques and philosophy of non-violence, conducted by The Peacemakers organization.

Brad Lyttle, Coordinator of Polaris Action, which is sponsored by the Committee for Non-Violent Action, expressed enthusiasm for the results achieved, despite the destruction of

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Policy Through Obituaries

The "Danger" of Peace

These words were written before the United Nations General Assembly had an opportunity to act on the neutrals' draft resolution calling for a resumption of negotiations between the President of the United States and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. Even if time had allowed a more up to date revision of this article prior to publication, it would not have been undertaken, simply because we believe that at this point the General Assembly has lost the opportunity of making a truly constructive contribution to world peace.

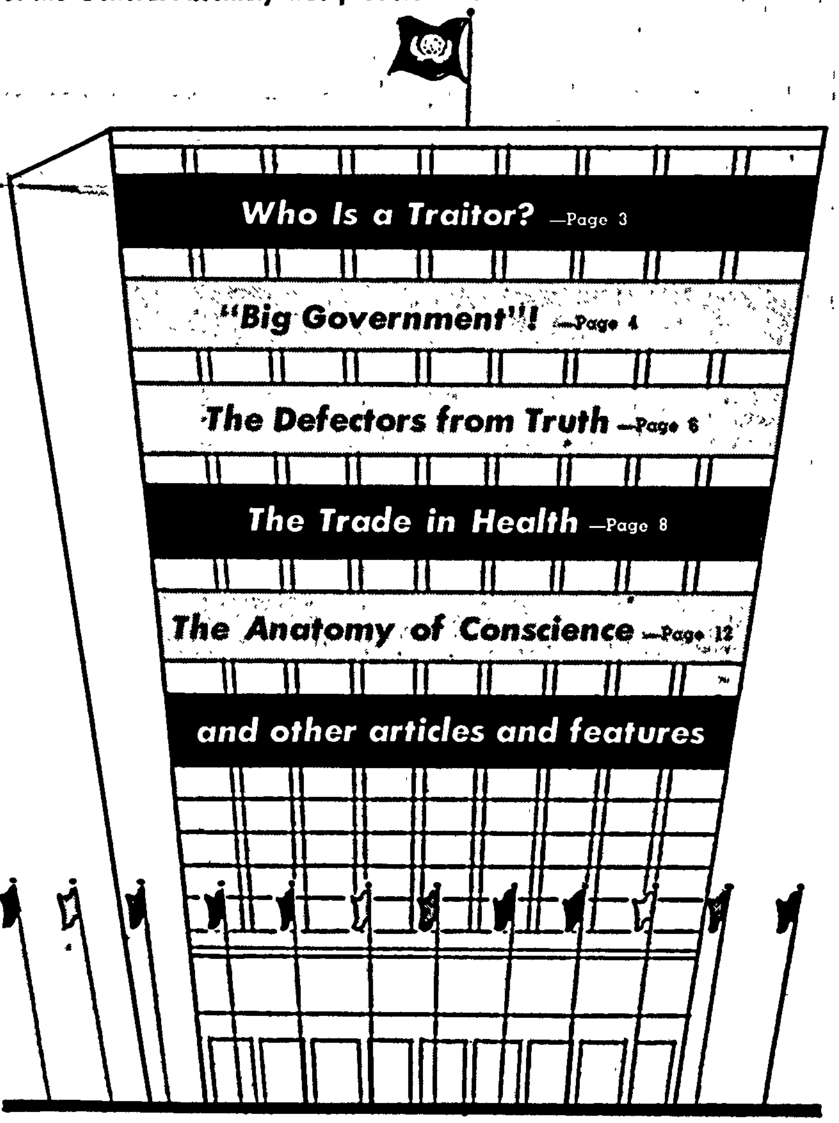
This pessimistic and tragic prediction does not rise out of anything that transpired since the U.N. General Assembly was convened. The tragic failure of the General Assembly was predetermined well in advance of its convening. There were innumerous indications that the American Administration will measure its "success" in influencing the General Assembly by criteria of "achieving" its failure—as if the greatest possible tragedy were for the United States and the Soviet Union to leave it in a less hostile atmosphere than when they had entered it. Not since the days of the abortive summit conference in Paris has the American Government demonstrated so resolutely that it conceives of peace and bona fide negotiations as its true and overwhelming danger.

Numerous and varied were the "precautionary" steps the American Administration undertook as an insurance policy against the "danger" of pacifying results from the General Assembly. It started by resorting to its old "obituary" method.

The State Department borrowed the Obituary Method from our daily newspapers whose files contain advanced obituaries for all kinds of celebrities just in case one of them dies without due notice. Similarly, the State Department maintains in its files a ready reaction, prepared in advance, to each suggestion of its adversaries that cannot be decried as unmeritorious. When your opponent talks sense but you do not wish sense or peace to be served, there is very little you can say except call it "propaganda". The only difference between the editor's advanced obituary and that of the State Department is that in the latter case the "propaganda" obituary may well be the actual killer that makes the obituary come true.

In a classic display of this method, we have been condemning Chairman Khrushchev's efforts to have so many heads of government participate in the General Assembly as nothing but "propaganda". It is a true testimony to the vanishing of American coercive influence that men like

(Continued on Page 11)



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"Big Government"! —Page 4

The Defectors from Truth —Page 6

The Trade in Health —Page 8

The Anatomy of Conscience —Page 12

and other articles and features

The Future President

Blocking the View of Events

The irrelevance of the presidential election campaign to the agonizing international problems, while not without precedents in previous campaigns in this country, is truly shocking. The peace obstructing policy of the Eisenhower Administration has culminated in one of the most dangerous international crises in recent years, and the American location of the U.N. General Assembly has kept closely before our eyes the prospect of a world aflame. Yet, not a single voice of sanity is heard in the election campaign; not even a single intelligent reference to those fateful events was made by tomorrow's President of the United States. Issues more important than world peace preoccupy the candidates: who can sound more bellicose vis-a-vis Khrushchev and Castro, and otherwise be more effective in the art of public image creating.

America is undoubtedly the only country in the world that was not too deeply impressed and didn't become too apprehensive about the international setbacks to peace in the U.N. General Assembly. Our populace is methodically being stupefied by two circus barkers, each screaming "I am the better man, give me the job!" and both succeeding, with the help of the World Series, in diverting public attention from matters of life and death.

The anti-American movement in the world has embraced most of humanity; the disdain of the neutrals for our behavior in the General Assembly has dealt a permanent blow to American international prestige. And while our diplomats are contending that Khrushchev's conflict is not only with us, in reality we are beginning to face a world whose majority is quite suspicious of our intentions and motivations. The attempt to alleviate such suspicions by giving aid and comfort to unpopular governments has proved quite ineffectual not only in such places as Iraq, Korea and Japan but even in Laos, where we have spent the most money per capita. Our State Department's policy of making our unacceptable international intentions LOOK acceptable has proved ineffective not because of any lack of inventiveness but because a peace-hungry world has rejected its content.

America faces the fateful alternatives of revising her international INTENTIONS or meeting a challenge from practically the entire International community. This revision should have been done in the process of the presidential election campaign. That we have missed the opportunity assures that, in either case, the country will be led for the next four years by forces totally dissonant with universal longings, desires and ambitions. The next President of the United States will have the lamentable distinction of having to defend anything in the world he chooses to stand for by mere physical force, faced with the reluctance of an international community consisting of our open enemies, the distrustful neutrals and our coerced but unenthusiastic allies. Our domestic political life is becoming more and more out of step with the political trend sweeping the world, and our "issues" are less and less the true issues of our times.

Never before this presidential contest has history provided such a classic instance of two immature, insincere, narrow-minded status seekers blocking the people's view of world shaking events.

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To Set the Record Straight

By Ernest B. Zeisler

An editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* said that U. S. rights in the Panama Canal zone are nothing to be ashamed of, that they were legally negotiated and handsomely paid for. Could it be that the *Journal* forgot how these "rights" were acquired, how President Theodore Roosevelt instigated a revolution in Columbia, and had his battleships there ready to bombard if a move were made to put down the revolt? Or, that the U. S. got the Panama zone *for nothing*, and that for the remainder of his days Theodore Roosevelt boasted: *"I wanted the Panama Canal. I TOOK the Panama Canal."* Many years later, Congress voted to pay Columbia for what had been wrested from her by force and deceit, and, at the time, Teddy screamed that Congress was trying to rob the American people. Incidentally, have the Belgians been learning from that historic chapter how to acquire rich Katanga from the Congo?

• • • •

The press reports that American strategists are troubled by the decrease in our plurality in the United Nations and the *Wall Street Journal* discloses their conviction that we may need to use the veto in the Security Council if *"the U.N. machinery fell into hostile hands."* They are, in other words, saying that if it became "necessary," they would do exactly what they have condemned the Soviets for doing . . .

• • • •

Secretary of State Herter tries to make much of what he calls Mr. Khrushchev's "threat" to rain missiles on the United States if the latter attacks Cuba. *In Khrushchev's* statement there was no threat whatever to the United States *UNLESS we attack Cuba.* In reporting such "threats" our newspapers omit their unprovocative nature.

Similarly, the only time, as far as I know, that Mr. K. stated *"we will bury you"* was within the context: *"We will never attack you first. But if you attack us, then we will bury you."* Here, also, there is no threat, actual or implied, UNLESS we plan to attack first. I do not intend to imply that Mr. Khrushchev's word is necessarily to be relied upon. I merely wish to point out what he actually said and how his statement has been distorted.

• • • •

A number of our leaders, military and other, and including Gen. Douglas MacArthur, have stated that we are in no danger of a military attack by the Soviets or by any other foreign power. The danger, however, is that we will lose our foreign markets (some of which we have already lost) and even some of our domestic market (some of which we have already lost). The real and great danger lies in economic competition. Of course, we have a right to combat it. It is of the utmost importance, however, that we choose effective ways of doing this. The use or the threat of military violence *is not* an effective way. Communism was a limited movement before World War I, after which it spread considerably. After World War II, it spread very much more. Should there be World War III and should there be any survivors, it would engulf the world. Those who, like the present writer, believe in the soundness of free economic competition must rely on such competition rather than consider war which is the most effective means of spreading communism.

• • • •

It would be amusing, were it not revolting, to hear Nixon and other Republican leaders, occasionally including Gen. Eisenhower, say that the religious issue should not be brought up in the present election campaign. The daily repetition of this statement is, of course, keeping it in the forefront, as they wish to do while piously pretending to the contrary.

• • • •

Mr. Nixon's statement that religion should not be a campaign issue unless a candidate did not believe in God, in which case he should be kept out of office, is bigotry and contrary to the spirit of the U. S. Constitution. Had we always been guided by such nonsense, we would not have had Thomas Jefferson for President.

62-105913-29

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The Catastrophic Trend

A New War Administration?

I am neither a prophet nor a holder of state secrets. Nor do I, like some political writers, indulge in "brave" predictions that will have long been forgotten, if they do not come true—but if they do, I can celebrate my genius for political clairvoyance. Yet, at the risk of sounding like the proverbial "prophet of doom", I venture to predict that the Administration the American people elect this November will become a war Administration.

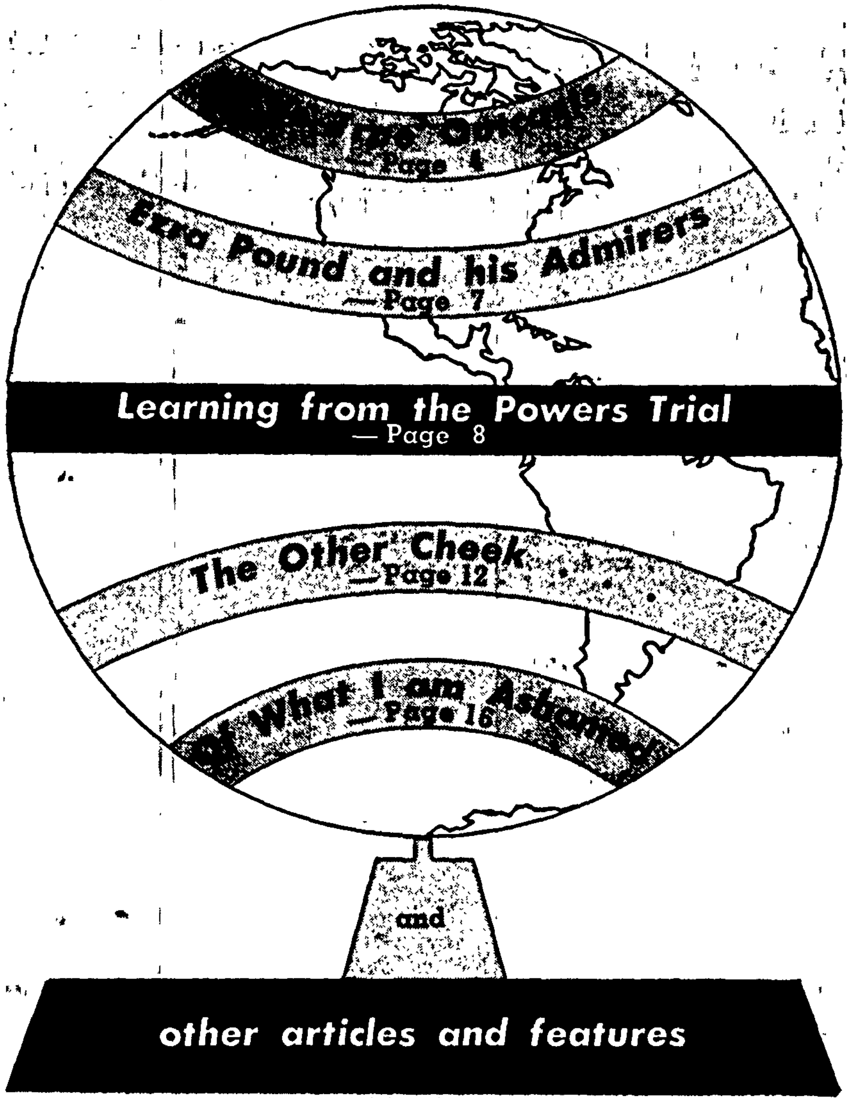
I base this sad prediction on two things: the short-range, immediate and predominant interests and mentality of those whose power suffices to wage war, and the consistent historical trend in international relations that started with the end of World War II and *is rapidly approaching a catastrophic climax.*

The shock absorbers inserted into the American economy by the New Deal have in the long run proved only partially effective. Social legislation has assured the circulation of some money and goods even during economic slowdowns. Even the *victims* of recession and unemployment remain to a degree consumers, not totally deprived of purchase power. Yet, so *insufficient* have these measures been that our economy continues to be an economy of cataclysms. Recessions are still unavoidable and occur with periodic regularity while extreme economic depressions a la 1929 have been averted by nothing *but* war and/or the war industry. The war in Korea, for instance, warrants as much emphasis in a study of internal economic constellations in America as it does in political history.

There is one tragic difference between the overproduction of food stuffs and of war paraphernalia. The former is usually dumped into the sea or stored until it rots away, while the latter is consumed in oceans of human blood.

While military spending indirectly boosts the entire national economy, the different branches of the economy are not its equal beneficiaries. Weapon manufacturers have a direct and disproportionately greater share in the military budget than do industries that depend on consumer purchase power. Between the two groups of manufacturers there is an unavoidable jealousy and competition in petitioning for national policies that favor their antithetical economic interests. Although the political influence of the war industry suffices to determine national policies, a prolonged *transfer* of money from the national treasury to the weapon makers gives the latter's competitors irresistible arguments to stop the trend. After astronomic amounts have been spent year after year on armaments without actual war erupting, those interested in de-emphasizing

(Continued on Page 6)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— Page 8
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— Page 16
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other articles and features

THE PRESIDENT'S TOUR

A Visit is Not a Mission

The trouble with the kind of tour President Eisenhower recently made to Latin America is that not many of them can be arranged. The psychological impact of such ceremonial, popular-appeal visits is in direct proportion to their infrequency. No head of state can afford to visit *"the people"* of another country too often lest, *"familiarity breeding contempt"*, he would diminish his prestige rather than enhance it. Historically such ceremonial visits have been reserved to dramatize extremely important political decisions, often basic reversals of policy.

That President Eisenhower's tour came towards the end of his term of office rather than at its beginning implies that it dramatized no particularly significant political step. Its timing may well have had more to do with our domestic presidential campaign than with actual matters of foreign policy.

That the deteriorating relations between this country and Latin America warranted some gesture on our part was amply and sadly dramatized during Vice-President Nixon's visit to our *"neighbors"* in 1958. However, the gesture the Administration decided upon—the President's visit — was directed more to the American voter than to the host countries. The unforgettably sad impression Nixon's visit left on American public opinion called for a restoration of the illusion of American prestige abroad. The *"I will go to Korea!"* pledge of eight years ago was paraphrased to *"I will go to Latin America!"* and once more Eisenhower has emerged as a combination of the flying Dutchman and the magician-wizard.

As far as the mending of foreign relations is concerned, the President's tour was fatally afflicted by inertia, providing nothing but airy and meaningless promises. His platitudinous wishes for the economic well-being of all were no substitute for overdue changes in this country's tariff policies.

What Latin America needs more than outright economic help, which President Eisenhower was hardly eager to promise anyway, is a reversal of our stifling tariff policies with respect to its agricultural products and raw materials. It is of no avail to pretend that we do not understand what Latin Americans mean when they talk about American imperialism. The centralization of capital investments in Latin America in American hands, accompanied by a high U. S. wall of custom protection, constitutes colonialism even if its means of protection is not territorial conquest.

Not less inert was President Eisenhower's tour in the political sense. Our long history of supporting corrupt dictatorships is not invalidated by calling those who protest against it *"Communists!"*. The Latin Americans have had a long experience with American-owned companies, which own so much of the fertile soil as well as their power, telephone, transportation and other facilities, and they thoroughly appreciate the vested interests these companies have in preserving plutocratic regimes. Nothing President Eisenhower said or did during his tour indicated any readiness of his Administration to draw a line between the interests of those American companies and the national interests of the United States.

In view of this inertia it seems that the only *"achievement"* the President can boast is the threatened breach of diplomatic relations between Uruguay and the Soviet Union.

Little but partisan prudence motivated this visit without any significant mission. When the disappointment takes effect, President Eisenhower will not be around to pay the price, and whatever comfort his successor-designate derives meanwhile will be as irrevocable as the outcome of the forthcoming elections.

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INDEPENDENT MONTHLY
PUBLICATION

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Regrettably, this publication is printed in a not unionized plant due to the local unavailability of a unionized printing plant.

The "Classless" Societies

(Continued from page 1)

to political campaigns from unions' general funds. Political involvement on the part of trade unions is considered so illegitimate that any activity, when construed as such, elicits apologetic statements on the part of labor leaders.

Among the nations ideologically closest to us, the United States is the only one whose parliament boasts no labor representation. A United States parliamentarian, elected as a result of intricate pre-election arrangements between various groups of vested interests, appears as a parliamentarian at large, without specifically and officially representing a particular social group. Any attempt to make himself the official spokesman of labor would be regarded as most illegitimate.

Fascism, while enforcing far reaching compromises on the part of the propertied classes, has as its principal objective the complete apolitization of labor. Notwithtstanding all the differences between fascism and the U. S. system, the apolitization of labor constitutes a definite and very significant fascist inroad into American life.

This scheme not only deprives the most numerous segment of American society of direct political expression but also perverts our political democracy. In its structural mechanics as well as in its political consequences it resembles the early medieval parliaments, when land ownership was a prerequisite for voting rights, depriving the great majority of the populace of parliamentary representation. And although, in the American version, popular elections are held, the class composure of the legislature is prejudiced in advance. The illusion of universal suffrage is maintained but, at the same time, the rule by a class minority is being perpetuated.

The advocates of this system resort to rationalizations which closely resemble the arguments of the Communists in their defense of the one-party system. They maintain that the lack of class representation in the Congress is not an imposed arrangement but truly reflects a spontaneous harmony among the classes of American society. Similarly, the Soviet Communists claim their one-party system to reflect a voluntary compliance of all Soviet citizens who allegedly lack any desire for a second party.

Were this a sincere though mistaken contention, the system would not prevent class representation but rather allow it in the composure of the Congress, confident that such class representation would express the alleged harmony. The prevailing arrangement is reminiscent of the colonialist argument which denies independence to a colonial people under the pretext that the colonial people themselves do not aspire to it. At the same time, however, the colonial power is not ready to have its evaluation of the popular sentiment tested in a free self-determining referendum.

Numerous and organized as American labor is, it is denied effective political tools for exercising public influence.

It is no coincidence that the composure of the United States Congress reveals an extremely one-sided picture of class recruitment. No practicing laborers or farmers (as opposed to farming businessmen) are to be found among its members. The legal requirements and the practical campaign mechanics for appearing on the ballot nullify the chances of anyone lacking the support of specific lobbies. The Congress of the United States is a most effectively segregated arena, in which class discrimination prevails with no less effectiveness than racial discrimination in the deep South.

Both the Soviet claim to a classless society and the American claim to class harmony are in obvious contradiction to the prevailing situations. Official doctrine, in both cases, has only one possible objective—to eliminate the political influence of those segments of society that might challenge the prevailing system if given the right of political expression. In both cases, the underlying intention is to perpetuate the ruling oligarchy. Neither party, however, misses an opportunity to delude the citizen with an acceptable picture of an unacceptable situation.

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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 8/9/67

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK [redacted] (RUC)

b3
b7E

SUBJECT: "THE MINORITY OF ONE"
IS-VIETNAM
(OO:NEWARK)

ReNYlet dated 7/13/67.

Enclosed are five copies of an LHM in this case, setting forth additional correspondence received by Miss DOROTHY STRATTON.

The interview of Miss STRATTON was conducted by SA JOHN J. BAGLEY.

Copies are being designated locally to Military Intelligence.

One copy is designated to San Francisco for information in view of the prior activity in this matter in the San Francisco area.

No further action in New York.

ENCLOSURE

2-Bureau (ENCLS. 5) (RM)
2-Newark (ENCLS. 2) (RM)
1-San Francisco (ENCL. 1) (INFO) (RM)
1-New York

1 xerox LHM to Navy per req. 8-28-69

JJB:aml
(6)

REC 101

62-105913-70

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AGENCY [redacted] Y-2 ONI, OSI, RAO, USIA
REQ. REC'D
DATE FORW. 8/16/67
HOW FORW.
BY

ST-104

3 AUG 11 1967

EHM
NAT. INT. SEC.

221

51 AUG 18 1967

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5010-108

what readers say about THE MINORITY OF ONE

Haifa, Israel "I found your 'A Struggle for the Right to Be Human' to be one of the most moving and realistic political statements I have ever read—in the same class as Shaw when the spirit moved him." —H. M. Basner
Author, Journalist

Washington, D.C. "I cannot praise *The Minority of One* too highly. It is a source of continuing amazement to me that the high quality of your analyses can be maintained so consistently in issue after issue." —Dr. Daniel M. Berman
Professor of Political Science
Washington College

Forest Hills, N.Y. "I already had so many other periodicals coming that I thought it would be impossible to read an additional one. However, I find *The Minority of One* so dynamically and intensely interesting that I feel I must have it even at the expense of burning some more midnight oil." —*Sidney C. Brown*

Northfield, Ohio "Mr. Eaton and I are eager subscribers to your most excellent publication, and you have our great respect." —Mrs. Cyrus S. Eaton

Beverly Hills, Calif. "Having been a subscriber of yours for about 2½ years, I have felt a constant and profound sense of indebtedness to you for the superior quality of your magazine, for the consistently perceptive, penetrating editorials, which reflect both advanced thinking and the finest humanitarian traditions, and for the excellent articles of other writers..." —Maggie Field

Los Angeles, Calif. "I marvel at the amount of reading you do before writing your articles. You also cite your sources so often that they will be valuable as source material...You are also doing a lot of hard thinking as well as able writing, some of it undoubtedly prophetic..." —Dr. D. F. Fleming
Author, Professor of International Relations
Vanderbilt University

Truro, Mass. "An excellent magazine..." —Waldo Frank, *Author*

Palo Alto, Calif. "I continue to receive *The Minority of One* and continue to feel a warm and growing admiration for your outspoken courage. *The Minority of One* has become one of the essential magazines, and I only wish that you were a large enough organization to bring it out weekly." —Felix Greene, *Author*

Los Angeles, Calif. "You are doing a fine editorial job. Considering the condition of the commercial press, it seems obvious that efforts of this sort will someday become a vital current in the life of the people, providing such papers keep going until they are appreciated." —Henry Geiger, *For the* Manas *Staff*

New York, N.Y. "If Diogenes with his lamp were alive today and was searching the length and breadth of the United States for an honest man, there is no doubt in my mind as to where I would send him. *The Minority of One* has that quality which I have found to be unique among publications in this country, that of absolute integrity of purpose." —William J. Hall

Cuernavaca, Mexico "...When, in a far-off future, new generations of archeologists will dig under the ruins of what was the American civilization and come upon a copy of *The Minority of One* of February 1967, and decipher it as they do today the Dead Sea Scrolls, they will be amazed at this one clear voice in the land, diagnosing and dissecting the American disease. They will count it as the one glory of that civilization that it allowed you to speak out. And they will regard you as truly a prophet as any in Israel." —Dr. Robert S. Hartman
Professor of Philosophy, University of Mexico

St. Petersburg, Fla. "... I am deeply gratified that there are at least a few honest and dedicated commentators such as the editor of *The Minority of One*, M. S. Arnoni. He has the knowledge and background necessary to expose the dangers of information control; as the victim of it he spent more than five years in Hitler's concentration camps.

"It requires deep conviction and great personal courage to express many of Arnoni's ideas. Fortunately for all of us, Arnoni has an abundance of both strong convictions and personal courage.

"There is a need to increase the support of this courageous and intelligent writer and editor. I for one hope to increase TMO's circulation by at least one hundred new subscribers. I hope that many others will make similar commitments. Our minimum objective should be to double the present circulation." —*Hugh B. Hester*
Brigadier General, U.S. Army (Ret.)

Philadelphia, Pa. "Your skills, knowledge and integrity have caused many people to endorse you in your endeavors. Count on me to collaborate..." —Dr. Stuart Kabnick

Burbank, Calif. "To look forward to reading your fine publication is a monthly event of the first order—and with Felix Greene I complain that it is not a weekly." —Archie H. Kaufman

Honolulu, Hawaii "...*The Minority of One* gives us the courage and will to carry on against the great odds threatening to dash our hopes of world peace in general and Vietnam peace in particular. We respect you because you will not compromise...And we need you; so, please, stay around." —Noel J. Kent

Los Altos, Calif. "I commend you for your integrity and consider it a duty to lend a hand to your continued uninterrupted publication." —Don D. Matchan, *Editor*
Herald of Health Publishing Co.

Detroit, Mich. "Your uncompromising stand reminds me of the pamphleteering of Tom Paine, the conscience of the American Revolution." Richard Merbaum
Associate Editor, New University Thought

Battle Creek, Mich. "I wrote you a letter several months ago, and in it I condemned you roundly. You must realize that most people have a hard time breaking with that which is taught to them when tiny; and I am not an exception.

"Fortunately, unlike the herd, I have finally broken with those beliefs which are cherished by H. L. Hunt and Henry Ford, and which they teach us to cherish." —A. J. Morehouse

Harborside, Me. "This morning I spent the early hours reading the June issue of *The Minority of One*. Your courage, especially with regard to the hideous Vietnam atrocity, is most impressive. Your success in carrying on the magazine for so many issues without advertising is a real achievement." • —Dr. Scott Nearing
Author

Danville, Va. "Your magazine takes one's mind out of the habitual groove and projects it into a realm of critical analysis and reflection..." —Samuel Newman, M.D., D.H.L.

Vancouver, B.C., Canada "I have enjoyed your magazine, and have found it stimulating and provocative. You are appallingly one-sided, and I find I often have to correct your impression on me by comparing what you have to say with an opinion from a writer or magazine with opposite ideological affiliations. But on the other hand, you do not conceal your prejudices, and so far as facts are concerned, I have found you quite reliable, even when I have disagreed with your interpretation of them. In certain areas, particularly in matters connected with the Warren Report, I have found your magazine very enlightening." —Norman Newton

Camarillo, Calif. "Not since the days of E. Haldeman Julius have I found a magazine as interesting, stimulating and thought provoking as *The Minority of One*." —Edna Nielson

Toledo, Ohio "Allow me to express my appreciation and admiration for your moral convictions and the unparalleled moral courage so poignantly expressed in every word of your 'A Struggle for the Right to be Human.' Men like you provide hope and encouragement in a world full of gloom, despair, and depravity." —Dr. R. Puligandla
Assoc. Prof. of Philosophy
The University of Toledo

New York, N.Y. "I have read with greatest interest your article titled 'State vs. Defense,'... the objectivity of which struck me particularly.

"I should like to express my profound appreciation for the publication of an article such as this, which treats my country, victim of the political hostility of the American Government, with justice.

"It is especially reassuring to have evidence that there are in the United States persons as honest, impartial and objective as the contributors to your publication..." —Huot Sambath
Permanent Representative
of Cambodia to the United Nations

Howard Beach, N.Y. "I have never been as proud of TMO (and as proud of myself for being a subscriber) as when I deciphered that bold signature (of President Ho Chi Minh) and little red emblem headed, 'New Year's Greeting to TMO Readers,' in the February issue.

"Three cheers for Ho Chi Minh and the brave, good people of Vietnam! Three cheers for myself and all subscribers to TMO! And three cheers for Mr. Arnoni! We are joined together all, across half the world, in a common cause. May we all live a thousand years!" —Robert Sauer

Malibu, Calif. "We're having a national epidemic of underground and 'anti' publications, and most of them are Hip, sensational, irresponsible and therefore being avidly bought by (if you'll excuse the word) America's new and old *Liberals*—who themselves are Hip, anti, sensational...while TMO—because it is serious, and responsible, and therefore too dangerous to talk about—is ignored..." —Curtis Zahn, *Author*

Prospect, Ky. "*The Minority of One* is my reason for resisting despair. It upholds the promise of a different America." —Henry Wallace

Broderick, Calif. "Your magazine makes me think of things I never thought to think about." —Lois Morgan

Inside this folder:
A MINORITY OF ONE sampler
and a message from
M.S. Arnoni

"The Minority of One"

"Having seen men like you and me committing the most heinous bestialities, I had to ask myself what accounted for such debasement. What degraded a human being into a blood-thirsty SS-man? I concluded that it was a lack of moral self-reliance that caused him blindly to trust the state and its leaders. Mob psychology replaced a personal conscience.

"One who has so bitterly experienced the consequences of that national mood in Germany which accommodated the Nazi excesses cannot help but draw analogies with present world realities. The notion that, on foreign affairs, patriotism requires of the citizen always to support his government is not only fallacious, but, in the nuclear age, may lead to an incalculable nuclear catastrophe. Yet, this fallacy is greatly fostered by the American press which on many world issues is so monolithic as to constitute a Paper-and-Air-Wave Curtain that insulates the people from national alternatives.

"Then there is the violence that permeates both the American ethos and the American reality. It makes one wonder whether this is not our national equivalent of that Prussian militarism without which the consciences of so many Germans could not have been dulled.

"To help pierce the Paper-and-Air-Wave Curtain, I established, in 1959, The Minority of One, a magazine of analysis and opinion that knows no nationalistic bias. You and I are the minorities of one if only we do not fear our thoughts. Our thoughts may collide or they may coincide; but, whether in discord or agreement, let us each remain a minority of one. Personal judgment and conscience, not mob prejudice, should shape our ideas and attitudes.

"The Minority of One"

"The liberalism of The Minority of One does not end at the national boundary; but, permeating our world view, it charts ethical and political restraints upon mighty America's role in the world. In challenging all nationalistic arrogance, it is the specific task of ethical Americans to challenge the nationalistic arrogance of their compatriots and authorities. Such is the voice of The Other America: against the Cold War, and for true democracy; against a prosperity rooted in militarism and conflict, and for an economy stimulated by human needs.

"The Minority of One is not a business venture. It accepts no commercial advertising, and to keep costs down, my home serves as its editorial office. Our subscribers are the publication's sole source of revenue. Their numbers include Heads of State and Prime Ministers, Cabinet members and legislators, philosophers and scientists, men of fame and ordinary citizens of many nations.

"As America's alternative magazine, it is necessarily controversial. We cannot assure you that you will agree with every idea expressed in our pages, but you are bound to find them thought-provoking. As one of our subscribers put it, 'Your magazine makes me think of things I never thought to think about'.

"I invite you to subscribe.

"Sincerely,

"155 Pennington Avenue
Passaic, N.J. 07056

FOREIGN

M.S. Arnoni, Editor
The Minority of One

"P.S. If you already subscribe, you may use this as an opportunity for entering gift subscriptions."

[redacted] advised that on July 25, 1967, she received a letter postmarked Gera in the East German Republic, with the return address rubber-stamped on the back of the envelope, "Kathe Unbehaun, DDR-65 Gera, Lortzingstrasse 8. [redacted] advised that she was sure that this letter had been sent to her as a result of the

b7D

publication in the "Minority of One" because the address on the envelope was identical with the address appearing in the magazine, including a comma after the number 18, which most people generally do not use, and including the zip code number 11434, as incorrectly published, since her zip code is 11433. The handwritten letter, sent by Mrs. Unbehaum, was addressed "My dear friend" and stated as follows:

"I give you this letter and want that you are doing all for the peace in Vietnam. You can read that mothers and women in all the continents are fighting for the life of your sons and husbands. Lo, you and I are standing in the front to fight for a good peace, a safe and sound life, whose common sense will be victorious too!.

"This are my wishes on the morning and are sleeping with us!

"I hope that I receive a reply and I'm . .

"Yours Sincerely,

"Mrs. Kathe Unbehaun"

With this letter was enclosed a typewritten carbon copy regarding the war in Vietnam, which is as follows:

"Tran thi hoan (Vietnam Women's Union) said:

"The barbarous war of aggression waged by the U.S. imperalists on the Vietnamese soil aroused great indignation among the world people.
Mothers and wives in all countries all over the world have promptly shown sympathy with the great sacrifices endured by the Vietnamese women to defend the happiness of their sons. Many have regarded the Vietnamese people's struggle as their own. From the bottom of their hearts, a number of mothers in various countries shouted aloud: 'Johnson, how many kids did you kill today?'

"The Minority of One"

"Marching in the van of the world mothers' struggle for an end to the U.S. imperialists war of aggression are women of the fraternal socialist countries, the core of the movement. Apart from meetings and demonstrations in which tons of thousands of women took part in condemning the U.S. aggressors, many joined socialist labour daysor are performances, donated their blood, contributed medicine, fabrics, money, etc. to support Vietnam, or satisfactorily fulfilled their produktions plans to assist Vietnam in time. In response to the movement of volunteers to fight in Vietnam, many women have encouged their husbands and sons to enlist and be ready to go and fight shoulder to shoulder with their Vietnamese brothers against the U.S. imperialists, when requested.

Meanwhile in the U.S.A. and its satellite countries, to prevent their husbands and sons from dying in the criminal Vietnam war, mor and more mothers and wives have risen up against the U.S. imperialists' aggresive policy and their governments agents of the U.S.

Tens of thousands of American women in many cities joined in big demonstrations marched on Washington and met in front of the Pentagon and the Congress urging immediate withdrawal of the U.S. expeditionary corps. Many mothers in mourning broke into U.S. camps, calling on G.I.s not to go and die in Vietnam, ooposed pressganging or lay across the roads to bar the way of convoys carrying U.S. troops to Vietnam. Several women among them Mrs. Helga Hertz, 82 and Celene Janowsky, still young and mother of a small child, burned themselves to protest against the criminal policy of the U.S. government in Vietnam.

In Australia, an Association of mothers called 'Let's save our sons!' was founded with its branches thoroughout the country. Australian mothers demonstrated in major cities and voiced strong protest against the Australian Government who had decided to increase threefold the number of Australian mercenaries for the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam.

In South Korea, women ran along Seoul streets holding their bavies in their hands shouting: 'Bring our husbands home!', 'Don't die in place of U.S. imperialists in Vietnam!'.

Japanese women also went in great numbers into the streets to protest their governments policy of tailing after the U.S. They actively supported the strikes urging an end to the manufacture of arms and equipment for the U.S. to massacre the Vietnamese people.

"The Minority of One"

"Meanwhile, women of Malaya, the Philippines and New Zealand also icessantly protested against the U.S. imperialists and voiced support for the just struggle of the Vietnamese people.
With their thougt constantly turned toward the struggle of the Vietnamese People against the U.S. aggressors and for national salvation, the women of Asia, Africa and Latin America have in close co-ordination with their struggle for the improvement of their living conditions and democratic liberties, resolutely opposed the U.S. schemes to drag their governments into the criminal U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam. Women in Western European countries also called out numerous activities in support of the Vietnamese women and people.
The Vietnamese women are immensely elated at and take great pride in the support and manifestations of cordial solidarity of the world women. They feel their responsibility ever heavier and more glorious and declare to the women of the world that final victory will certainly belong to the Vietnamese people and it is certain that the U.S. aggressors must clear out of South Vietnam.
Long live the solidarity between the women of Vietnam and those of the five continents!"

Routing Slip
FD-4 (Rev. 4-28-67)

Date 10/2/68

To:

☒ Director FILE

Att.: Research-Satellite Section

Title

☐ SAC " "

☐ ASAC "The minority of one"

☐ Supv.

☐ Agent

☐ SE

☐ IC

☐ CC RE: 5-JE [illegible] D

☐ Steno

☐ Clerk ☐ Rotor #:

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☐ Acknowledge
☐ Assign ___ Reassign ___
☐ Bring file
☐ Call me
☐ Correct
☐ Deadline
☐ Deadline passed
☐ Delinquent
☐ Discontinue
☐ Expedite
☐ File
☐ For information
☐ Handle
☐ Initial & return
☐ Leads need attention
☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case
☐ Prepare lead cards
☐ Prepare tickler
☐ Return assignment card
☐ Return file
☐ Search and return
☐ See me
☐ Serial # 62-105913-
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☐ Submit report by
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17 OCT 3

17 ENCLOSURE

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71 [illegible] 4 1968

SAC John F. Malone

See reverse side Office New York

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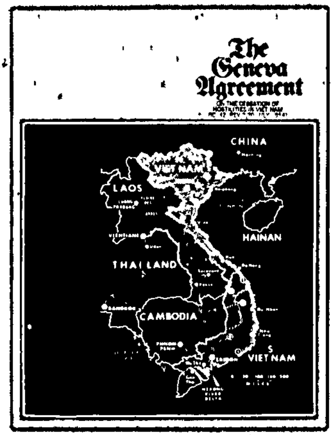
Dear friend,
The genesis of
The Minority of One
dates back to Auschwitz...

Geneva Agreement on Vietnam—1954 and Special China Issue offered as premium for remittance with subscription order.

Remittance received with your subscription order saves us billing cost. It therefore enables us to offer you, without charge, the full text of the Geneva Agreement on Vietnam, the most discussed but least known international document, as well as our Special China Issue.

Gain the authority of first-hand knowledge.


The Geneva Agreement
ON THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES IN VIET NAM
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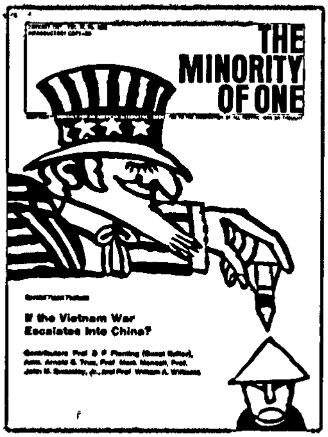

THE MINORITY OF ONE
If the Vietnam War Escalates Into China?

(See Reverse for Contents)

The Geneva Agreement on Vietnam: The most quoted document; the most misrepresented document; the least read document. The historic agreement in its entirety in a 28-page booklet, together with the Geneva Conference's Final Declaration of July 21, 1954, and the official U.S. Statement made by Under Secretary of State Walter Bedell Smith.

Special China Issue, "If the Vietnam War Escalates Into China . . .": Is the United States on a collision course with China? Under what circumstances would a collision occur? What military form would it take, and what would be the scope? What the domestic and international repercussions? Would victory be possible, and what would it amount to? Guest-edited by Prof. D. F. Fleming, these are essays of unique importance by men internationally recognized as eminent authorities. They include, in addition to Prof. Fleming, Admiral Arnold E. True (Ret.), Prof. Marc Mancall, Prof. John M. Swomley, Jr., and Prof. William Appleman Williams. This Special China Issue has aroused world-wide attention.

☐ Please, send me copies of the Geneva Agreement and the Special China Issue, as a premium for enclosing remittance with my subscription order.

- Slip this form, together with your remittance, into the enclosed reply envelope and mail today.

THE
MINORITY
OF ONE

155 Pennington Ave.
P.O. Box 544
Passaic, N.J. 07055

Since we cannot make unlimited commitments to supply copies of the Geneva Agreement and the Special China Issue, this offer of a premium expires 15 days after reaching you.

a letter from Dr. and Mrs. Linus Pauling

Dear Friend:

Ever since its first issue, *The Minority of One* has been a source of enlightenment and inspiration, providing incisive political and social analyses. It has achieved an admirable intellectual level, presenting a refreshingly objective view of events. It has been gaining an ever wider circle of readers among the intellectuals of America, emboldening many of them to stand up and be counted in the fateful struggle against war.

It is important that *The Minority of One* speak to ever-growing numbers of people.

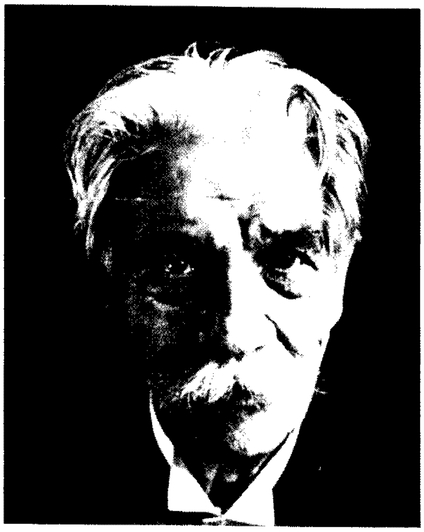
We urge you to become a subscriber.

And please, act now.

Sincerely yours,

Ava Helen Pauling Linus Pauling

Ava Helen Pauling Linus Pauling



Dear, highly esteemed Mr. Arnoni:

It was a joy for me to receive into my hand copies of your magazine. I find it excellent and read it with great interest. I deeply admire your very sensible analyses. It is this kind of thing that we need today in all countries! . . .

To think of all the horror you have experienced! I, however, have not suffered at all in my life. Thus, when it comes to fighting for the prevalence of humanism, I am obsessed by a feeling of guilt which cannot be rationalized. And when I encounter people who, like yourself, have suffered, I am ashamed of myself.

We are pulling the same wagon and pursuing the same goal; to educate for humanism those thoughtless people who still live in inhumanity, and to make it understood to them that we will have an atomic war unless we achieve a humanitarian frame of mind. These people may laugh off the thought of an atomic war; they believe that statesmen and diplomats alone can reach an agreement on the elimination of atomic weapons. As long as such views prevail, there is no hope that we will rid ourselves of atomic arms.

I hope to be accepted as your co-fighter and to submit contributions to *The Minority of One.* Simultaneously, however, I entertain apprehensions that when a foreigner attempts to enlighten people, they are not open to influence . . . The main call must come from the members of the same nation . . . because nationalism is still deeply embedded in the mentality of today's mass.

Please, forgive my poor, fatigued and bad handwriting.

Again: I am glad to know you and *The Minority of One,* and I believe it to be immensely worthwhile that this magazine exercises its influence in America. I did not know that something like it existed there, across the waters.

Affectionately and devotedly yours,

Albert Schweitzer

Albert Schweitzer

from the pages of THE MINORITY

From "The Cult of Trust" by Dr. Arthur Janov:

"The United States is becoming unified. People are thinking more like their leaders and our leaders are thinking more like the people. We are becoming welded together into a specious form of homogeneity. We are developing a people's establishment, where leaders exhort us to trust in them; the experts then poll us to find that we do; and the government issues statements that they are carrying out the will of the people.

"While this might appear as democracy at work, what results from this Cult of Trust is a highly anti-democratic situation."

From an editorial, "Completing the Greek Dictatorship" in the December 1966 issue, 5 months before the military coup in Greece:

"Whether or not a suspension of some constitutional rights is imminent, there can hardly be a doubt that even worse things are in store for Greece before the current cycle of the perpetual collision between popular aspirations and reactionary rule is over. Rights will be trampled upon and violence will be used again to suppress the people."

From "China: Wherefrom and Whereto?" by Dr. Han Suyin:

"The idea that anywhere in the world where Western powers are not there is something wrong is a cockeyed, wrong, abnormal idea. Why is it that Asian powers do not regard it very abnormal that there should be no Asian power, say, in Europe? Why don't they regard that there is a power vacuum in Europe even though there is no Asian power there to run things?"

From "The Social Function of Dissent" by Prof. Henry Steele Commager:

"One of the pernicious features of modern nationalism is the assumption that the arts and sciences are somehow subordinate to governmental claims... What is alarming is that, by long exposure, many of us are falling into the habit of accepting this eccentric and pernicious doctrine as normal and proper."

From "Science, Biology and Human Relations" by Prof. Albert Szent-Györgyi:

"In their struggle for life some animals have grown tusks, others horns, claws or fangs. Man has grown a brain...The brain is not made to search truth, but to search food, safety and the like—search advantage...Truth is not good for survival. It is a rather dangerous thing. In my native country, during World War I and later under Hitler, the search for truth almost infallibly led to prison or the gallows. Most of the martyrs, including Christ, were searchers for truth. I would be inclined to say that searching truth for truth's sake is an abnormal, pathological phenomenon. But here and there such sickly brains are produced to become martyrs, or our great scientists, artists or moralists."

From an exclusive article by President Ho Chi Minh:

"I sincerely thank *The Minority of One* for affording me an opportunity to talk to the American people on the present situation in South Vietnam...

"This war, which is replete with horrible crimes, has not only infringed upon the freedom and independence of our compatriots but has also besmeared the good reputation and the good traditions of the American people...

"I have been in the United States, and I understand that the American people is a talented people which is strongly attached to justice."

From an editorial, "For a Conference on the Middle East" in the January, 1967 issue—six months before the outbreak of Arab-Israeli hostilities:

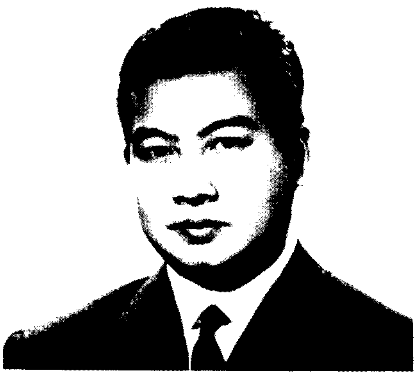
"American-Soviet relations have by now reached a phase at which the two super-powers should be able to coordinate their Middle East policies...

"But the American-Soviet ability to convene an effective conference may well be limited in time. New pressures are building up in the Middle East over which, eventually, neither Moscow nor Washington will have any influence. Before the difficult problems of the region are further complicated by echoes of the triangular American-Soviet-Chinese antagonisms, peace should be solidified. The opportunity for achieving this may not last for long. It is imperative that it not be wasted."

U Thant—"I have found your magazine to be consistently courageous."

Prof. Pitirim A. Sorokin—author, sociologist—"My warmest congratulations on your honest, courageous and brilliant editing of *The MINORITY OF ONE*."

Prof. D. F. Fleming, author, political scientist—"*THE MINORITY OF ONE* is excellent!"



Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia — My deep congratulations on your courageous defense of righteousness and justice.

Dr. Cheddi Jagan, former prime minister of Br. Guiana—"This journal has been the focus of the aspirations of the peoples and the leaders who struggle for freedom all over the world."

Sterling Hayden, author and actor—"*THE MINORITY OF ONE* is a bulwark against the madness of our times."

Ira Morris, author—"I consider it among the two or three most important publications in any language—and I subscribe to a good many of them."

Gen. Hugh B. Hester, USA-Ret.—author and peace worker—"Beginning with the first issue, *THE MINORITY OF ONE* has been outstanding in focusing attention on the great issues of our time."

Dr. Corliss Lamont, author, philosopher—"You present articles and comments of unique value concerning the international scene. It is an indispensable magazine."

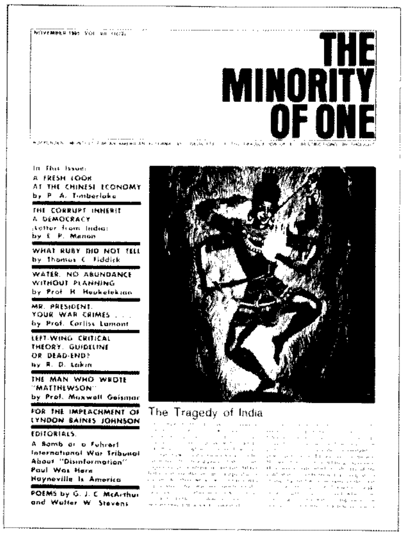
---

about the supporters of THE MINORITY OF ONE

Why have men like U Thant, Albert Schweitzer, Bertrand Russell and Linus Pauling praised *The Minority of One*? Why do they all speak of the uniqueness of this magazine? And why are men of their prominence eager contributors to its pages? ☐ Because here is the honest voice of an individual who, in this age of the mass, has made himself heard. Because here is the uncompromising integrity few men believe themselves able to practice in this age. Because here is a survivor of Nazi concentration camps who applies his bitter experience to today's world realities, in a single-minded determination to prevent new versions of Auschwitz. Because here is a man who forfeited a lucrative career to become a servant of peace. ☐ This is what has attracted outstanding scholars and scientists, Nobel Prize Laureates, civic leaders and other notables to the pages of *The Minority of One*. ☐ The enclosed reply form is your invitation to judge the magazine for yourself.

For Dr. Schweitzer's evaluation, please turn the page

some recent issues of the magazine



THE MINORITY OF ONE

In This Issue:

A FRESH LOOK AT THE CHINESE ECONOMY by P. A. Timberlake

THE CORRUPT INHERIT A DEMOCRACY (Letter from India) by E. P. Menon

WHAT RUBY DID NOT TELL by Thomas C. Fiddick

WATER: NO ABUNDANCE WITHOUT PLANNING by Prof. H. Heukelekian

MR. PRESIDENT, YOUR WAR CRIMES . . . by Prof. Corliss Lamont

LEFT-WING CRITICAL THEORY: GUIDELINE OR DEAD-END? by R. D. Lakin

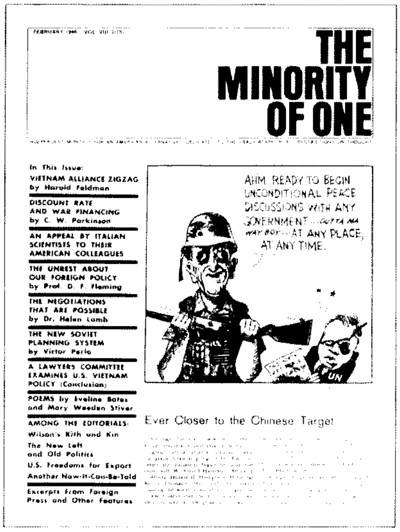
THE MAN WHO WROTE "MATTHEWSON" by Prof. Maxwell Geismar

FOR THE IMPEACHMENT OF LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON

EDITORIALS:
A Bomb or a Fuhrer?
International War Tribunal
About "Disinformation"
Paul Was Here
Hayneville Is America

POEMS by G. J. C. McArthur and Walter W. Stevens

The Tragedy of India



AHM READY TO BEGIN UNCONDITIONAL PEACE DISCUSSIONS WITH ANY GOVERNMENT ...GOTTA MA WAY BOY... AT ANY PLACE, AT ANY TIME.
UN

THE MINORITY OF ONE

In This Issue:

VIETNAM ALLIANCE ZIGZAG by Harold Feldman

DISCOUNT RATE AND WAR FINANCING by C. W. Parkinson

AN APPEAL BY ITALIAN SCIENTISTS TO THEIR AMERICAN COLLEAGUES

THE UNREST ABOUT OUR FOREIGN POLICY by Prof. D. F. Fleming

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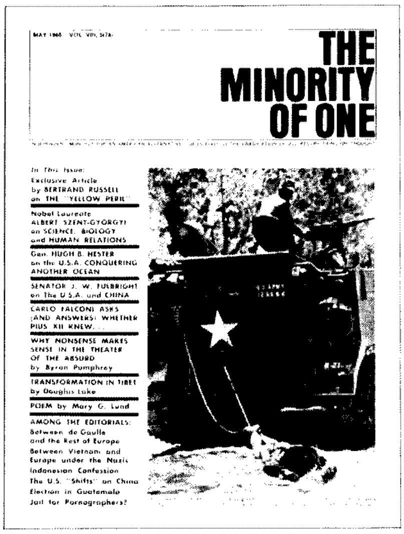
The New Left and Old Politics
U.S. Freedoms for Export
Another Now-It-Can-Be-Told

Excerpts From Foreign Press and Other Features

Ever Closer to the Chinese Target



MAY 1966 VOL. VIII, 5(78)

THE MINORITY OF ONE

In This Issue:

Exclusive Article by BERTRAND RUSSELL on THE "YELLOW PERIL"

Nobel Laureate ALBERT SZENT-GYORGYI on SCIENCE, BIOLOGY and HUMAN RELATIONS

Gen. HUGH B. HESTER on the U.S.A. CONQUERING ANOTHER OCEAN

SENATOR J. W. FULBRIGHT on The U.S.A. and CHINA

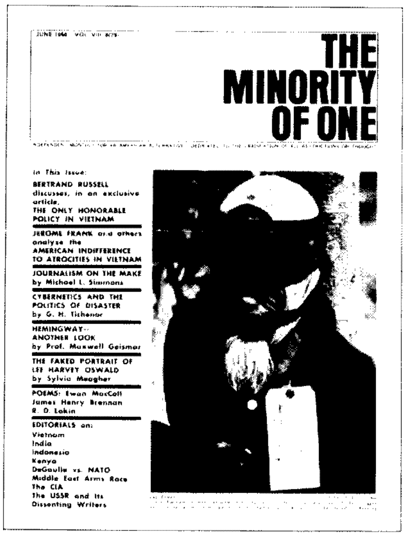
CARLO FALCONI ASKS (AND ANSWERS) WHETHER PIUS XII KNEW. . .

WHY NONSENSE MAKES SENSE IN THE THEATER OF THE ABSURD by Byron Pumphrey

TRANSFORMATION IN TIBET by Douglas Lake

POEM by Mary G. Lund

AMONG THE EDITORIALS:
Between de Gaulle and the Rest of Europe
Between Vietnam and Europe under the Nazis
Indonesian Confession
The U.S. "Shifts" on China
Election in Guatemala
Jail for Pornographers?



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THE MINORITY OF ONE

In This Issue:

BERTRAND RUSSELL discusses, in an exclusive article, THE ONLY HONORABLE POLICY IN VIETNAM

JEROME FRANK and others analyse the AMERICAN INDIFFERENCE TO ATROCITIES IN VIETNAM

JOURNALISM ON THE MAKE by Michael L. Simmons

CYBERNETICS AND THE POLITICS OF DISASTER by G. H. Tichenor

HEMINGWAY— ANOTHER LOOK by Prof. Maxwell Geismar

THE FAKED PORTRAIT OF LEE HARVEY OSWALD by Sylvia Meagher

POEMS: Ewan MacColl, James Henry Brennan, R. D. Lakin

EDITORIALS on:
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Indonesia
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DeGaulle vs. NATO
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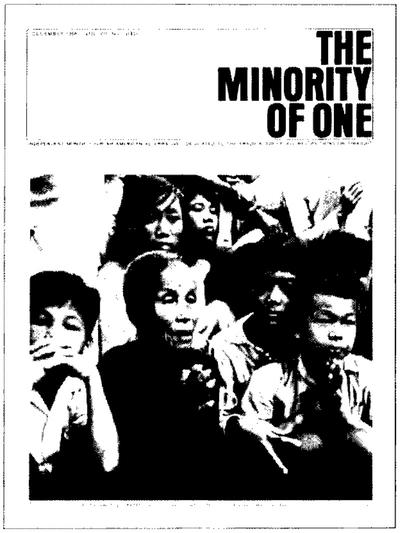
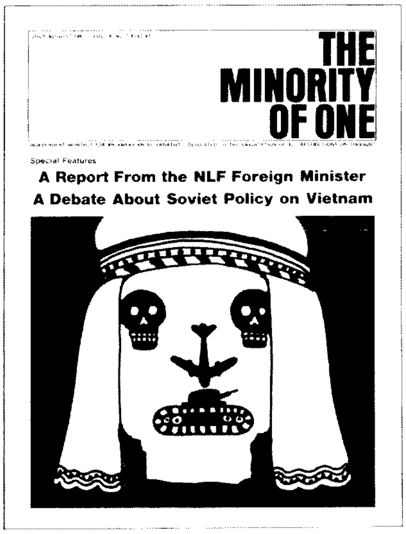
The CIA
The USSR and Its Dissenting Writers



THE MINORITY OF ONE



THE MINORITY OF ONE

Special Features

A Report From the NLF Foreign Minister

A Debate About Soviet Policy on Vietnam

about the THE MINORITY OF ONE

THE MINORITY OF ONE usually consists of 32 handsomely illustrated 9" x 12" pages. It is printed in two colors. The second color changes from issue to issue. The good paper, large page size and large type help to make it an exceptionally readable publication.

In form as well as content it has an appealing substance—more like a book than a monthly magazine. For this reason, many readers keep their copies permanently for helpful reference. A subject and author index, offered without cost each year, adds to the future value of the magazine.

The magazine does not accept advertising. Instead, it offers 40,000 words of stimulating editorial matter, interspersed with drawings, cartoons and photographs.

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M.S. Arnoni, the editor of *The Minority of One*, as he spoke at the University of California at Berkeley. He began: "I have donned this uniform of a Nazi concentration camp inmate to remind you and myself of an era that is not over, of human suffering that continues, ...of consciences that still stop at the national boundary..."

I invite you to subscribe to *The Minority of One*. I think you will find it quite unlike any publication you have known. We don't amuse; we analyze. We don't play on human weaknesses; we engage the reader's intellectual capacity. We don't cater to anyone; we speak our convictions. We don't choose topics with a view to building our circulation; we merely say what we believe needs to be said. We don't even propose to make a successful magazine; we merely speak our piece and are willing to pay the price for it.

M. S. Arnoni

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"There is nothing else in this country vaguely comparable to THE MINORITY OF ONE; you are the midnight writer among our political commentators, the spinner of dark fables, of ugly nightmares—which become daily truer and truer! You make me sicker and sicker to my stomach, while I admire your logic more and more!"

—Maxwell Geismar

"There was truth and there was untruth, and if you clung to the truth even against the whole world, you were not mad."

M. S. ARNONI 155 Pennington Avenue, Passaic, N.J. 07055

Dear Friend:

The genesis of The Minority of One dates back to Auschwitz. I was incarcerated in Nazi concentration camps for nearly six years. There I saw thousands of people, including my parents and sister, die of starvation and torture, in gas chambers and before firing squads. I myself was subjected to tortures I had not believed a human being could endure.

Yet, I survived. Frankly, one who sees his entire social environment wiped out cannot help being obsessed by an irrational feeling of guilt for surviving alone. It is as if I had to justify my survival by serving justice and humanity as best I understand how.

Having seen men like you and me committing the most heinous bestialities, I asked myself what accounted for such debasement. What degraded a human being into an SS-man? I concluded that it was a lack of moral self-reliance that caused him blindly to trust the state and its leaders. Mob psychology replaced a personal conscience.

One who has so bitterly experienced that national mood in Germany which accommodated the Nazi excesses must naturally draw analogies with the present. The notion that patriotism requires the citizen always to support his government is folly, and, in the nuclear age, it may mean catastrophe. Yet, precisely this notion is fostered by the American press -- a Paper-and-Air-Wave Curtain insulating readers from national alternatives.

Then there is the violence that permeates the American ethos and the American reality. It makes one wonder: Is this our national equivalent of that Prussian militarism which dulled the consciences of so many "good" Germans?

62-105913-

To help pierce the Paper-and-Air-Wave Curtain, I established, in 1959, The Minority of One. It is a magazine of analysis and opinion that knows no nationalistic bias. You and I are the minorities of one if only we do not fear our thoughts. Our thoughts may collide or they may coincide; but, whether in discord or agreement, let us each remain a minority of one. Personal judgment and conscience, not mob prejudice, should shape our ideas and attitudes -- and our acts.

The humanism of The Minority of One does not end at the national boundary. Instead, it sets restraints upon mighty America's role in the world. In challenging all nationalistic arrogance, it is the specific task of enlightened Americans to challenge the nationalistic arrogance of their compatriots and authorities. Such is the voice of The Other America: against the Cold War, and for true democracy; against a prosperity rooted in militarism and conflict and for an economy stimulated by human needs.

The Minority of One is not a business venture. It accepts no commercial advertising, and to keep costs down, my home serves as its editorial office. Our subscribers are the publication's sole source of revenue. Their numbers include Heads of State and Prime Ministers, Cabinet members and legislators, philosophers and scientists, men of fame and ordinary citizens of many nations.

Ours is a controversial magazine. You may not agree with every idea expressed in our pages. But you are bound to find it thought-provoking. As one of our subscribers said, "Your magazine makes me think of things I never thought to think about."

I invite you to subscribe.

Sincerely,

M. S. Arnoni, Editor
The Minority of One

P.S.

If you have already subscribed, you may want to use the reply envelope enclosed for gift subscriptions to friends, business associates or a library.

OF ONE

From "A Struggle for the Right to be Human" by M. S. Arnoni:

"Had Americans been in charge of Auschwitz, the place would not have been shrouded in secrecy. They would have hired a public relations firm to sell the public on its merits. Extermination statistics would be periodically released to feed the national pride in purifying the world for freedom and democracy. Photographs of the gas chambers and ovens would be widely distributed to show how selflessly Americans were serving humanity. There would even develop a public controversy, with some Senators investigating rumors that the chemical industry had lobbied in favor of gassing. The liberals would argue their preference for machine-gunning, on humanitarian grounds, and the President would be assuring everybody that he would not act 'rashly,' and that, rejecting the advice of extremists on both sides, he would continue his course of 'moderation'...

"What America is spreading is not only its power, but also its philosophy...This is a peculiarly American version of existentialism. It denies all relevance of the question of right and wrong. Things are no longer true or false, just or unjust, good or bad. Things merely are or are not...If you can make something prevail, then by virtue of it having prevailed, it is as it should be."

From "Eye-witness Report from War Zone C" by Prof. Nguyen Van Hieu:

"Since I have just gathered some observations while touring the battle theatre, I would like to share them with you...

"The battlefield is littered with G. I. belongings. Believe me, nothing tells better of the fighting than these, left by poor American soldiers who shall never come home any more. My sympathy to their wives and mothers. I hope that at least some of those whose names I shall mention below, may have by a miracle escaped a sad fate."

their contributions have appeared —and will—in THE MINORITY OF ONE

Dr. Günther Anders
Austrian author and philosopher

Dr. Gordon S. Christiansen
Professor, Connecticut College

Dr. Henry Steele Commager
Professor of History, Amherst College

David Cornel DeJong *Author and poet*

William O. Douglas
Associate Justice, U.S. Supreme Court

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Former Prime Minister of British Guiana

Byron Johnson *Former U.S. Congressman*

Sidney Lens *Labor Leader and author*

Juan Mari-Bras
Leader of Puerto Rico Nationalists

Ho Chi Minh
President, The Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Dr. Linus Pauling
Nobel Laureate in Chemistry, Peace

Prof. Theodor Rosebury
Professor of Bacteriology, Washington University

Bertrand Russell
Philosopher, Mathematician, Nobel Laureate

Dr. Frederick L. Schuman
Woodrow Wilson Professor Williams College

Dr. Pitirim A. Sorokin *Professor, Harvard University*

Dr. Albert Szent-Györgyi *Nobel Laureate in Medicine*

Sir Robert Watson-Watt
Physicist, discoverer of radar

Dr. Ernest B. Zeisler
Associate Professor, University of Illinois

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

August 9, 1967

"The Minority of One"

INFORMANT [redacted] b7D

[redacted] stated that after the publication of the letter from Sergeant A. Zeigler in Vietnam [redacted] which appeared on Page 23 of the July-August, 1967 issue of the "Minority of One", she received correspondence concerning it. On July 14, 1967, she received a letter from M.S. Arnoni, Editor of the magazine "Minority of One", in which he enclosed a copy of the particular issue. He stated he heard, contrary to the indications of the report from Vietnam, that her friend, Sergeant Zeigler was still alive, but he was aware that some of the people to whom he was writing would be in mourning for relatives or friends who had died in Vietnam. In his letter he said he wished to assure her that he was deeply sorry for every man, American or Vietnamese, who was injured or died in Vietnam. He enclosed a mimeographed letter which he said would explain the relationship between his past experiences and his present pursuits.

USA

This letter is as follows:

"Dear Friend-to-be (I hope):

"The genesis of The Minority of One dates back to Auschwitz. I was incarcerated in Nazi concentration camps for nearly six years. There I saw thousands of people, including my parents and sister, die of starvation and torture, in gas chambers and before firing squads. I myself was subjected to tortures I had not believed a human being could endure.

"Yet, I survived. Frankly, one who sees his entire social environment wiped out cannot help being obsessed by an irrational feeling of guilt for surviving alone. It is as if I had to justify my survival by serving justice and humanity as best I understand how.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

62-105913-70

ENCLOSURE

1 - Mr. Simpson

9940

62-

January 26, 1960

REC- 61 62-105913-1

M. K.

Miss Marianne ~~K. Pollich~~ INFT.
Regan Hall, Box 61
Catholic University of America
Washington, D. C.

MARIANNE

Dear Miss ~~Pollich~~:

Your letter dated January 17, 1960, with its enclosures, has been received, and the interest which prompted your communication is indeed appreciated.

While I would like to be of assistance to you, the function of the FBI as a fact-gathering agency does not extend to furnishing evaluations or comments concerning the character or integrity of any individual, publication or organization. I regret, therefore, that I am unable to comment upon the publication you mentioned.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAILED 5
JAN 26 1960
COMM-FBI

1-Washington Field (enclosure)
2-Richmond (enclosures - 2)

ATTENTION: SACs, WASHINGTON FIELD AND RICHMOND

Enclosed for the Washington Field Office is one copy and for the Richmond Office are two copies of correspondent's communication. Bufiles contain no identifiable information concerning the correspondent.

NOTE TO SACs, CONTINUED, PAGE TWO
SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAGE TWO

RDS:pw (6)

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other law enforcement. One of the most frequent abuses, clumsily dressed up in a pretense of legality, is to be found in prosecutions on charges of *"disorderly conduct"*. The vagueness of this charge offers a legal sanctuary for authorities to resort to when their intended impingement upon an individual, if presented honestly, would be procrastinated or defeated by his constitutional rights. Men have been jailed or ostracized on charges of *"disorderly conduct"*, their careers broken, for no other reason than their political, social, or religious convictions, for exercising their rights of free speech and free association. Newspapers had been forced into silence, and political groupings disbanded, while all laws pertaining to freedom of press or to free association were carefully avoided in favor of the all inclusive charge of *"disorderly conduct"*.[13] Indeed, it would be a challenging task for a legal scholar and historian to present us with a work on the history of legal fraud facilitated by laws pertaining to *"disorderly conduct"*. A not less shockingly revealing picture would emerge from an objective study of disguised but effective political censorship exercised in different periods by the Postmaster General through keeping matter out of the mails.

Such is the face of doublethink in action. To break laws knowingly, while claiming to enforce them, and in doing so also to know that one is acting in the spirit of law and legality is a paraphrasing of Orwell's definition, which, unfortunately, does not have to wait till nineteen eighty-four to become true.

It was precisely this old, tradition sanctioned technique which McCarthy adapted to his own ends. He never battled his adversaries on their grounds. Instead, he had them *"investigated"* and their biographies *"edited"*. True enough, he did it with great skill, but the reckless idea and the unscrupulous method were not his. They were borrowed from an arsenal which preceded him and which has outlived him.

When our non-driving adversary is getting a speeding ticket, we usually tend to join a conspiracy of silence. Once the adversary is established, we care little about the means by which he is being fought. Since we dislike him, why not be a false witness against him (as long as there is no danger of our perjury being exposed, or as long as we can feel safe that an exposure would not be followed by repercussions against us)? The villain was acquitted by the court of law, why not trump up some incidental charges against him which would land him *in* jail anyway?! The charge of treason or espionage would not stick?—Don't give up, perhaps the charge of perjury will . . .

Such was the face of McCarthyism long before it acquired its personalized name. Nameless once more, it is still with us.

Of What I Am Ashamed

- OF the jury in Newburgh, N.Y., which, on October 27th, acquitted industrialist Malcolm R. White of murder in shooting of Alfred A. Dugan, union official who tried to organize his cable factory. White testified he believed Dugan was about to shoot him, so he opened fire first. Dugan was found to have been unarmed and shot in the back.
- OF the Washington newspaper, which usually devotes its front page headlines to crime, while to the above trial it devoted a single column less than six inches long, on page No. 17.
- OF Court Clerk Clayton K. Watkins', of Maryland, refusal to hand over to Roy R. Torcaso his drawn up commission as a notary public, when Torcaso balked at the last formality—the affirmation of God's existence.
- OF the all-white Pearl River County, Miss., grand jury, which refused to indict anyone for the lynching of Negro Mack Charles Parker last spring. The 378-page FBI report on the case, which Gov. J. P. Coleman turned over to the district attorney and Pearl River prosecutor, never reached the grand jury.
- OF an American President's fraternizing with dictator Franco culminated by Mr. Eisenhower's visit to Spain.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN

At least in one respect McCarthy rendered a good service to the American public. He carried the traditional intolerance and conformistic brain-washing to such ridiculous, caricaturish extravagancies as to alert and alarm all potentially liberal elements. While there was never before McCarthy as intensive a witch hunt sweeping the country (I am not too positive as to the correctness of this contention), there was also never such an awakening and mobilization of liberal thought (I am quite positive about *this*). Rovere in his book comes close to seeing this unintentional influence of McCarthy. He states: *"the United States Supreme Court took judicial notice of the rents McCarthy was making in the fabric of liberty and thereupon wrote a series of decisions that have made the fabric stronger than before."*[14] And so did some newspapers, politicians, educators, many individuals and among them Mr. Rovere and his present critic.

With the disappearance of McCarthy the caricature is gone, and the liberal troops safely feel they may disband. Everything seems to be returning to *"normal"*; and the watchtowers of liberty may be abandoned as they were before McCarthy made us man them.

And what is it we are returning to?

What is our state of *"normalcy"*?

—If it is, as De Tocqueville claimed, that *"freedom of opinion does not exist in America"*[15], perhaps it would have been better if we could still be looking into the magnifying mirror of McCarthyism and be frightened by its ugly reflection?

McCarthy's unintentional service to American liberalism was as great as our unwillingness to trade perpetual self-praise for constructive self-criticism.

---

[13] Out of a great number of books in which sporadic or periodic treatment of this problem is undertaken, I wish to draw the reader's attention to:

1. *Freedom's Fetters*, by James Morton Smith, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N. Y., 1956;
2. *Opponents of War, 1917-1918*, by H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wis., 1957.

[14] *Senator Joe McCarthy*, p. 264

[15] Democracy in America, Vol. I, p. 265

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62-105913-1

The FB is mentioned on the back page of each issue of "The Minority of One" under "Of What I Am Ashamed."

Marianne K. Pollich
Regan Hall, Box 61
Catholic University
of America
Washington, D.C.
January 17, 1960

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Callahan
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Malone
Mr. McGuire
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Trotter
Mr. W.C.Sullivan
Tele. Room
Mr. Ingram
Miss Gandy

J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of
Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

P.O. Box 1594 Richmond, 30, VA.

Last month, in answer to an ad in the Washington Post, I received a sample copy of a publication called "The Minority of One" INC.

As I proceeded in reading it, I became increasingly suspicious of its intent. Since I am possibly oversensitive on the subject, and knowing that you and your staff are very busy, without telling her of my suspicions I asked a friend to read it. She reached the same conclusion as I had and suggested that I mail it to you.

Although the publication claims to express no political views, most of it seems to consist of pointing out fallacies of the United States and democracy. This, in itself, is not necessarily wrong, for self-criticism is the first step to betterment, and since no-one is perfect, no institution of man can be completely perfect and can always be improved. But what I do consider wrong is that it (the publication) goes on to point out aspects of communism, sometimes "seemingly" critically, but nonetheless always defensibly, giving the impression that it is better than democracy, or at least not worse.

This is done very subtly and in a very clever style of writing which has its effectiveness not so much in an appeal to reason, as in one to emotion, which is dangerous for emotion is unreasonable.

I am quite convinced that up to and at the present time democracy is the best form of government, but someone less convinced, or less sensitive on the subject, could be swayed without realizing it.

As I said, I may be over-sensitive about this, and if so I apoligize for taking up your time. Nevertheless I would be grateful if you would read it and give me your experienced opinion on it. Although I did not subscribe to the publication in question, I received another issue yesterday, and am therefore sending the editor a letter desclaiming any desire for further issues.

EX-PROC.
JAN 19 1960

ENCLOSURE

EX 109 REC-61 62-105913-3

MCT-12

P.S. I was hoping I could find some way of employing the word "insidious" to describ_e it, for that is how the publication strikes me. -- Another thought - how can a one-man shop be incorporated. -- Please excuse

Respectfully yours,

JAN 28 1960

Marianne Pollich

Marianne Pollich

Ack.
1- WFO w/encs
2- RH w/encs
1-26-60
RDS/Pw.

THE MINORITY OF ONE

Independent Monthly Publication, Dedicated to the Elimination of All Thought Restrictions Except for the Truth

"There was truth and there was untruth, and if you clung to the truth even against the whole world, you were not mad." — GEORGE ORWELL

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Address for subscriptions and correspondence: P. O. Box 6594, Richmond 30, Va.
Editor: M. S. Arnoni
January, 1960

The Relative Importance of Summit Talks

In view of the prolonged Soviet drive for a summit conference, American and British diplomats were rather astonished by recent indirect Soviet collusion with the French in postponing the date of that conference. While a diplomatic controversy was beginning to brew between the United States and Great Britain on the one hand, and the French and West-German governments on the other hand, it seems that it was Chairman Khrushchev who settled the dispute by agreeing to visit France during the second half of March 1960, thereby automatically averting a summit conference at an earlier date.

This apparent about-face on the part of Chairman Khrushchev caused Western observers to advance a number of theories as to its motivation.

Some ascribe the suddenly decreasing anxiety of the Soviet Premier to Chinese pressure. Another theory has it that Khrushchev would much rather talk with the next U. S. President than with the outgoing one. It is an equally plausible explanation that Khrushchev intended to nourish Gen. De Gaulle's international self-assertion, hoping that by helping him have his way in what was developing into an acute split among the Western powers, he might influence De Gaulle to become more cooperative and conciliatory with regard to the much more important problems to be discussed at the summit.

These theories and speculations are not contradictory and they all might have played a contributing role in the surprising Khrushchev-De Gaulle cooperation regarding the timing of a summit meeting. But it is equally plausible that this cooperation was due not only to Khrushchev's attitude towards the TIMING of a summit conference but also to his attitude towards the conference itself.

Soviet eagerness to meet at the summit was taken too literally in the West. So much so that for a long time the West entertained the illusion of being able to extract from the Soviets political concessions as a price for agreeing to a conference. Under American leadership the West for a time even committed itself to the position that the Soviets must offer substantial concessions on West Berlin if the international talks are to be held. No such concessions were extracted from the Soviets and yet a summit conference is about to take place.

One could have easily predicted this development. The Soviets did not see themselves under pressure to make concessions. They knew throughout that their only immediate concern, preventing missile installations from being erected in Italy and Turkey, would be negotiable with the West at a price they were not ready to pay. Therefore they preferred to deal with this problem by threatening to establish their own missile bases in Albania and Bulgaria.

(Continued on page 14)

OUR TWO-PARTY SYSTEM AND DEMOCRACY

America's claim to democracy is based on the two-party system. We disprove the Soviet Union's claim to democracy by pointing to her one party regime. When weighed on the merits of terminology both arguments are correct; we do have two *"parties"* in the Congress, while the Soviets have only one *"party"*. However, if only terminology counted, the Soviets could easily meet our democratic qualifications by simply renaming their trade unions and calling them a *"party"*, in which case also their parliament would be composed of two *"parties"*—the Communist Party and the *"Trade Union Party"*. Obviously, however, this would not satisfy our democratic concepts.

We may therefore conclude that it is not a terminological or strictly organizational diversity which brings about democracy. The significant difference is that between position and opposition. No government is democratic by the mere virtue of allowing some obliging group to organize itself as a separate association while, at the same time, tolerating no opposition to its basic policies and premises. The role of the opposition party in a democracy is OPPOSITION. It must provide an alternative to the prevailing regime. It must offer the nation a different course of action than the one pursued by the party in power. The mere existence of an opposition and the safeguards it enjoys as a minority deprive the party in power of arbitrary measures for its self-perpetuation.

When two parties exist, both of which subscribe to the same basic policies, no possibility is provided for the voter to register his disapproval of the official policies of his government. At the most he may be consulted with respect to the personal composition of the government, such consultation having to do more with the dividing line between the *"ins"* and *"outs"* of power than with what that power would be used for.

All this is very obvious to us in the case of the Communists. They too hold popular elections and have the freedom of choosing between one candidate for public office and another, but we dispute the democratic significance of this arrangement by correctly pointing out that all their candidates are pledged to the same BASIC policies.

If we disregard organizational technicalities it becomes evident that the range of basic political tendencies represented in our Congress is so narrow that it could be comfortably placed on the surface of a single penny. All the members of our Congress, whatever their party affiliations, are basically dedicated to one and the same political philosophy, to one and the same system. There may be differences of emphasis, detail and nuance among them, but their common political denominator is much wider than the issues which divide them.

This is true to such a degree that the foreign observer of the American ideological panorama finds himself utterly confused when references are made to a left wing, center and right wing within our Congress. When compared with other Western countries, our *"liberals"* are very conservative indeed. Yet, only in America are liberals classified as outright left wingers, which is due to the absence of more

(Continued on page 6)

BETWEEN COMMUNISM AND THE STATUS QUO

The results of a recent survey conducted on college campuses and inquiring into the students' knowledge of Communism showed them to have an almost complete ignorance of Communism. Most of the answers were not only wrong and impertinent but outright ridiculous. Were a similar inquiry to be conducted among the general public, there can be little doubt that the results would be even more moronic.

In view of the prevailing world situation and our general pre-occupation with Communism, it is incredible how ignorant the public is of the very subject which is at the center of its concern.

This pitiable state of ignorance deserves scrutiny with the view of establishing the responsible factors; how it effects or might effect our strength in our competition with Communism; and whether or not it is being used to manipulate public opinion on matters which are not related to Communism.

It seems that our acute awareness of the Communist issue, the emphasis this issue gains in our press, the fact that practically each and every American holds views he believes to pertain to Communism, would have inspired a spontaneous curiosity as to its meaning and history. If, therefore, the public pre-occupation with Communism remains only on the shallowest level, one has no choice but to assume that there are forces which consciously and deliberately keep it there. It can hardly be taken as a sheer coincidence that the typical American newspaper, which devotes so much space to Communism, has at the same time failed completely to enlighten its readers on the subject. Such default could hardly be possible unless it were the result of a deliberate policy, not only on the part of the press but also on the part of the nation's political and business leadership.

The Communists, naturally, would find the motivation for such a policy in an alleged ideological supremacy of Communism. Typically, they would claim that their gospel is logically so overpowering and invincible that their opponents fear the spread of the *"truth"*. Nothing could be more absurd. Communist theory, and even more so communist history and practice, are all too vulnerable to fear that exposure to them would leave the democratic individual ideologically defenseless and a prey to intellectual conquest. If anything, unslanted teaching about Communism could be turned into a powerful weapon of free society against its communistic challenger.

On the other hand, lack of orientation may well make the individual an easy prey to Communist utopias, illusions, and false pretenses. This was sadly evidenced in the case of American war prisoners in Korea. The fact that one out of three was converted, in one measure or another, into a Communist collaborator, dramatizes the danger of a lack of understanding of Communism on the part of our citizenry.

Such a disheartening experience as the ideological vulnerability of American war prisoners in Korea may not be the last one of its kind. Keeping our public's opposition to Communism on a no-more-than-a-propagandistic level may well backfire in times of crisis when the intellectual dependability of our citizenry will be put to a bold test. Once the propagandized individual discovers any incorrectness in his emotional prejudice against Communism, his entire confidence in his parent society may be shattered. Left with little to believe in, and even less dependable basic knowledge, he may well start following, uncritically, the prophet he no longer knows as false. Such a desperate devel-

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To the Reform of the Educational System

2. FOR A NEW PURPOSE[1]

While most thinking Americans presently agree that there is a compelling need for a jacking up of our educational system, a wide variety of opinions prevails as to the desired nature of the reforms. They range from the minimalistic tendency of putting greater emphasis upon science and mathematics, through a more liberal advocacy of added stress on liberal arts as well, all the way to the sweeping ambition of having American schools turn out better, more sophisticated and intellectually independent individuals. The differences in these tendencies are fantastic; they are quantitative and qualitative, and unless we define what we want our schools to achieve, we will not provide a basis for any reform.

These differences in educational tendencies are as old as organized society's responsibility for general education. Pestalozzi's advocacy of general education was first adopted by Prussia, not out of missionary zeal, but out of the realization that it would promote the modern state's interests. The industrial age necessitated a citizenry capable of maintaining a modern administration. It also had to assure the availability of educated leaders for the diversified fields of a modern state.

While the educational requirements of the modern state have increased in the course of decades, the principle which regulates them is as true today as it was in Prussia of the nineteenth century.

While on the one hand the modern state is vitally interested in promoting education, on the other hand it may not lose its check on it. Beyond a certain point, education may well become a liability rather than an advantage to the state. A citizenry imbued with individual independence and averse to conformism could not be easily controlled. They would not easily *"buy"* internal, nationalistic propaganda; they might be less inclined to obey authorities blindly; they might question them more searchingly. Would, for instance, the independent, unconforming citizen make a good soldier? Would he easily accept blind obedience to his sergeant?

Totalitarian regimes have provided extreme instances of how delicately the balance has to be kept between partial education and partial ignorance. Nazi Germany and Communist Russia devoted a surprising amount of energies to promoting education. At the same time, however, they resorted to intimidation and terror to stop it at the point at which it threatened to burst the straight jacket of conformistic indoctrination. Books were burned on autos-da-fe, censorship was installed, inconvenient writers and thinkers were wiped out. (In the long run, even doctrinaire education is of value, as there is no telling where a mind, once put in motion, will wind up.)

In the democratic state inconvenient writers are not physically wiped out, the burning of books is the exception rather than the usual practice, and there is relatively little direct and overt censorship. This does not mean that the state allows education to develop without specific checks. The leeway of the allowable may be wider, the methods of control much less drastic, but both do exist in a democracy as well. *"In America the majority raises formidable barriers around the liberty of opinion; within these barriers an author may write what he pleases, but woe to him if he goes beyond them. Not that he is in danger of an auto-da-fe, but he is exposed to continued obloquy and persecution. His political career is closed forever, since he has offended the only authority that is able to open it. Every sort of compensation, even that of celebrity, is refused to him. Before making public his opinions he thought he had sympathizers; now it seems to him that he has none any more since he has revealed himself to everyone; then those who blame him criticize loudly and those who think as he does keep quiet and move away without courage. He yields at length, overcome by the daily effort which he has to make, and*

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[1] The first installment of this article appeared in the December issue of The Minority of One.

(Continued on page 15)

"WHAT CAN I DO?"

THE VOLUNTARY SLAVES

"What can I do?" asks a reader in a letter quoted in part on another page in this issue. Implicit in that letter was our correspondent's wish not to disclose his full name. Naturally, we complied with his wish. However, in attempting to answer that reader and many others who might be asking the same question: what can they themselves do to challenge the suffocating conformity of our society, my symbolic answer is: SIGN YOUR NAME UNDER YOUR LETTER. Oh yes, that would be quite enough, quite a contribution! Just sign your name and be counted!

Because the truth of the matter is that true democracy, civil liberties and independence of thought are jeopardized in this country not so much by their direct challengers and enemies as by the complacency, escapism, I-don't-careism and fatalistic defeatism of so many others. It happens all too often that a liberally inclined individual seems almost to be thanking heavens for the many excuses available for his default in exercising the rights he claims as inherent. Somebody said that liberty is responsibility, and most people fear and shed responsibility.

OPPRESSION THROUGH DEFAULT

There is no public abuse in this country which could not be prevented or erased were it not for the timidity of its victims. No ally is more important to the oppressor than the fatalistic resignation of the oppressed.

Now, let's be frank and state that the only motive our reader could have had for not wanting his name disclosed was to *"protect"* himself, to avoid stepping on anyone's toes, not to appear as a dissenter and critic.

Whether his fears were justified or not, whether the repercussions of his dissenting position would have been as unpleasant as he imagined they might be plays a secondary role. What became a real factor determining his public avowal or abstention was not any actual reaction to what he might do or say, but his own fear of reaction precipitated by an exaggerated concern with not being hurt.

No oppressor, no censor silenced our reader—it was his own voluntary act of premonitory abstention which was responsible for the suppression of the free expression of his thought.

The recent McCarthy hysteria did not gain momentum from the imaginativeness and acumen of its demagogic leader. It was not the fact that he had dragged so many people into his inquisition chambers which darkened our era, but the feeling of humiliation to which the *"witnesses"* had resigned themselves.

There were few proud men who appeared before McCarthy. Generals displayed the humility of recruits and aggressive public figures faced the Great Inquisitor like startled children caught making funny faces in front of a mirror.

> **Being your slave, what should I do but tend**
> **Upon the hours and times of your desire?**
> **I have no precious time at all to spend,**
> **Nor services to do, till you require.**
> **Nor dare I chide the world-without-end hour**
> **Whilst I, my sovereign, watch the clock for you,**
> **Nor think the bitterness of absence sour**
> **When you have bid your servant once adieu;**
> **Nor dare I question with my jealous thought**
> **Where you may be, or your affairs suppose,**
> **But like a sad slave, stay and think of nought**
> **Save, where you are, how happy you make those.**
> **So true a fool is love that in your will,**
> **Though you do anything, he thinks no ill.**
>
> ***—William Shakespeare***

So debased did our civil concepts and personal pride become that those who refused to act as informers in public but meekly promised to deliver innocent names in *"executive sessions"* were hailed as heroes.

"What can I do?"—You can be yourself. No one CAN stop you from thinking and no one MAY stop you from expressing your thoughts except yourself. We are privileged to live under a constitution which grants us many liberties the residents of other countries are less explicitly granted. But no constitution can force us to make use of those rights. That is up to each individual.

WE ALL MAKE HISTORY

If our words had the power of changing things immediately and visibly, we would probably be ready to utter them even at the pain of possible repercussions. But in the absence of visible results we believe our words of criticism and dissention to be futile, resulting in nothing but possible unpleasantness to ourselves. This is the nucleus of our futility. There are no inconsequential words. When you witness two individuals engrossed in a private discussion of public affairs, do not accuse them of futile exercises in oratory. Their discreetly exchanged words are making history.

We do not have reliable faculties for tracing the genesis of historical factors. For all we know the Great French Revolution might have begun a century, or half a century, before the walls of the Bastille were stormed, and perhaps in the form of nothing but a private conversation between two for-ever-unknown individuals. Some thought was conceived and conveyed; in the course of years and decades it might have inflamed the imagination of other people, always spreading through the inconspicuous channels of conversation. A small child might have heard an utterance of his parent, an utterance due to something the parent had absorbed one time or another from the invisible flow of communication among men. The child grew up, the seed of a parent's utterance maturing within him, driving and inspiring him until finally that utterance became important enough to be recorded by history. Just so, your thoughts and the expressing of them are important. Somewhere they do join the great rivers of history, anonymous and untraceable, nevertheless the only real monuments of your having been alive.

Oh yes, we must join those great rivers of history and assume responsibility for them. Philosophically, perhaps because our lives are senseless, we so desperately need to adopt a sense and a purpose for them. But there are more practical considerations at stake. The fate of your own person, your child, parent or spouse, friend and the city you live in cannot be divorced from the fate of the world. Nations wage wars, but nations do not die and bleed—people, individuals do. Nations possess pride, but individuals possess stomachs to be fed, brains to be trained and illnesses to be cured. Nations exist only in the abstract, but human beings are real. They suffer and cry, they enjoy themselves and laugh. A chemical analysis of any flag would disclose nothing but certain organic and non-organic materials. But behind flags there are human beings like you and me and which flag we raise and follow, how we carry it and why, where we lead it and by what means, determines human happiness or misery, tears or smiles. We are not history, but history is us.

THE DIVIDED WORLD

These considerations are valid in each and every generation. They are especially valid in our own era. This is so because the world we live in is divided into two parts; the bad part and the hopeless part. We have the relative privilege of living in the bad part. We are the bad part of the world because we

(Continued on next page)

"What can I do?"

(Continued from page 3)

have a great capacity for tolerating injustices, even for misunderstanding and rationalizing them. But by no means is our part of the world hopeless; as difficult as this may be, we can still work for a change, for progress, even for the abolition of many of the prevailing conditions. The other part of the world, the one ruled by Communism, is hopeless. For it, hope could come only after a total collapse of the prevailing regime. For as long as that regime prevails, it will effectively control all means which could potentially undermine it. It tolerates none of the dangerous contradictions our society is full of. These contradictions are our hope, they can be used to repair society, its structure and relations. Communism is final. Communism is an absolutely fixed reaction.

The badness of our part of the world is superior to Communism only because of the opportunities we have for altering it; its ultimate worthiness depends on our active readiness to change it and improve upon it. Let us not, like the Communists, delude ourselves with the claim of having achieved the final stage in man's social development. Any philosophy making such a claim to finality is evil.

It is precisely because our world is so tragically divided and because among the nations who are still allowed to aspire to freedom the United States is the most powerful one that our responsibility is even greater than responsibility to our own nation. When we witness such encouraging and heart-warming historical processes as the emancipation of colonial peoples, the economic and social development of areas whose people have traditionally experienced nothing but hunger, misery and humiliation, we must be aware that the continuation and fate of these processes are directly tied in with the fate of the United States—not because the United States is so idealistically inspired as to have no other goals in the world, but because the communization of the world would bring with it the elimination of all national, social and cultural aspirations except those centrally disseminated from the Communist oligarchy.

Patriotism so conceived is not inimical to a universal, internationalistic concern. On the contrary, it becomes a branch of a cosmopolitan ideology.

BETWEEN PATRIOTISM AND NATIONALISM

When we thus define the broad scope of civil responsibilities, the first question that poses itself is what constitutes patriotism.

While nationalists have always made an exclusive claim to patriotism, in actuality patriotism and nationalism are absolutely incompatible. Nationalism is always ready to serve the flag, while patriotism serves the people of whom the flag is a mere symbol. Patriotism means concern and, when need be, worry. Patriotism means impatience with anything detrimental to the people among whom you live and to whom you owe your loyalty. Nationalism means satisfaction with the situation as it is, even if it is bad. Nationalism refuses to be worried, its confidence and reliance are purely emotional and often unfounded and foolish. Patriotism is more intelligent; it assesses society objectively and attempts to improve it. Patriotism finds ills to cure them, nationalism claims everything to be perfect and lets the cancer rot the body.

Man possesses a basic intelligence and theories are judged by their believeability. People have, therefore, a hard time believing in the nationalistic picture of perfection. That's why nationalism too must hold before the people's eyes the negative sides of society, except that it always finds them across the boundary. Patriotism is less concerned with the negative sides across the boundary, but highly concerned with those in its own backyard. That's why patriotism is self-critical. That's why real patriotism has always been accused by nationalists of helping the enemy by bearing out at least partly the enemy's negative picture of the society.

The nationalist is an egotist. Actually he does not communicate with other people. While he professes to love his *"nation"*, he has little concern for the human beings who make up that nation. He has few qualms about impairing the welfare of human beings, sacrificing them easily at the altar of abstract symbols. He raises the flag with pride and pretentiousness, but strikes a fellow citizen for not trembling at the sound of the national anthem.

The nationalist possesses nothing but self-love. To him the symbols of the nation do not represent other human beings, because his heart accommodates no real love for them. Those symbols are dear to him only for his personal reflection in them. Through them he celebrates himself, his ego, his self-interest, his ability to love himself unconditionally.

The nationalist is deprived of the intellectual integrity which would enable him to draw analogies objectively. *"Our country, right or wrong!"* is the nationalist's equivalent to *"I am right, whether I am right or wrong"*.

Perhaps he grew up deprived of human tenderness and sensitivity, perhaps the nearest people to him were cool and evil. But how would he know it? From where would he draw standards of comparison? So, whatever he became used to constitutes the firmament of his horizons. Virtue and evil are accommodated within the narrow scale of the immediate environment in which he grew up. He might have learned what virtue is in an environment which was deprived of it. If his father was a wife-beater, he might consider any man who does not beat his wife a virtual saint. Yet, he uses the standards so adopted to measure the whole world. For instance, a man who grew up in a small southern community is not deaf to humanitarian notions. He adheres to the principle of human beings being good to each other. But his concept thereof is based on a patronizing attitude towards the *"inferior"* people of dark skin. Those who raise certain political issues and speak about integration or equality of rights, are either evil or plain crazy—as if he himself were not a real good Christian! What are they talking about? Doesn't he remember his own pa giving Christmas gifts to his Negro farmhands? Wasn't he *"good"* to them? What do *"they"* mean, those trouble-makers, by implying that he deprives the Negro of anything?

The nationalist applies such standards to everything and everybody but especially towards anything across his national boundaries. He knows that within the home, village and county where he grew up, he had met all the good he had ever observed in this world. They are HIS superlatives, and if anything is opposed to them, it must be evil. That's how foreignness in itself becomes to him evil. Oh no, he will not let himself be corrupted, he will adhere to the *"virtues"* he has learned, he will admire only what is his, only what he can personally identify himself with. He will stay in love with his mirror reflection, sing his most personal song—the national anthem and raise the flag high like a family crest.

But all his devotion would not be complete without defending what is dear to him against the heretics, the non-believers, the ones who are blind to his *"light"*. So he crusades against them. He smites them in a kind of a modern holy war, knowing that he is serving God himself and all virtues as he knows them. He cannot look upon the "heretics" as people of different convictions, perhaps mistaken but honest convictions; they are evil, they are a danger, they put innocence itself in jeopardy, and intolerance becomes his battle cry.

The nationalists of the Soviet Union and the nationalists of the United States are very similar indeed. Neither is inclined to admit the shortcomings of their respective societies. But between the real patriots of Russia and the real patriots of the United States there is a great difference. The former are forced into complete silence; they may express no concern, they may work for no change. The real patriots of the United States are in a much more fortunate situation; they do suffer from nationalistic restrictions, but none of their concerns must be abandoned and none of their actions need be given up except those for which the patriots themselves lack the spirit and acumen.

The whole problem is simpler than it appears on the surface. We may find a guide for it in our family experiences. All professions of love are worthless in the case of the husband who refuses to feed his wife medicines because of their untastiness, or refuses to submit her to the surgical knife that bears her only hope of survival. All the healing recipes he would recommend for his neighbor's wife would not cure his own.

And so, when you ask me what you and I can do, my answer is—EVERYTHING. Everything depends on us, on our true devotion to the society in which we live, on our readiness to accept temporary unpleasantness in exchange for real service to society. When we use the convenient excuse of public pressure to justify our default, all we have proved is that our desire for personal comfort is greater than our devotion to the society which sustains us.

WITH A GRAIN OF SALT

THE SHY CENSORS

Lady Chatterley in Yuri Zhivago's Company

The Soviet practices of censorship are most reprehensible to the American public. Such a phenomenon as the entire press of a country being sponsored by different branches of one and the same monolithic system is correctly recognized as lack of democracy. When a Soviet writer cannot have his book published in the Soviet Union because his manuscript fails to flatter the prevailing oligarchy, we turn him into an international hero; he becomes the laureate of the Nobel prize for literature much more on political than on literary merits. When Soviet citizens are prevented by their government from listening to the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe or the Voice of America, we correctly believe that the very mention of the practice is an embarrassment to that government. We even turn the matter into a subject of diplomatic talks, demanding a reversal of the Soviet Government's position and chiding its Premier about it during his visit to the U.S.A.

In all this criticism there can be little doubt that we are hitting at very vulnerable points of the relationship between the Soviet citizen and his government.

However, the Soviet Union is undergoing changes which would have been utterly unthinkable in the days of Stalin. To a large extent these changes are reflected in a limited relaxation of internal censorship. I have known men who, in the times of Stalin, were sent to labor camps in Siberia for no other offense than telling their co-workers the price they paid for a wrist watch bought outside the Soviet Union. Their casual chat was construed as hostile propaganda because it tended to compromise official claims that Soviet Russia was the most prosperous country in the world. When you put such cases against present day instances of self-criticism in the Soviet press, frank admissions of failure on the part of government leaders and quite uninhibited conversations between average Soviet citizens and foreign visitors, you can appreciate that, while the Soviet Union is far from endorsing civil liberties, it has certainly started moving away from the most rigid forms of controlling the flow of information.

In the United States we have never reached the abyss of information control exercised by the Communists. Our chief weapon of such control has never been terrorism, although even in this respect we cannot claim innocence. Nonetheless, it is high time we start asking ourselves some of the same questions we are persistently asking the Communists.

When I was a child I was told that each time a person puts someone on the carpet for a vice of which he himself is guilty, the accuser gets the hiccups. Were this true in relation to governments, I am afraid that our political leaders would often be afflicted not by ordinary hiccups but by paroxysms of convulsive whooping. The Russian Communists are slowly moving away from total censorship and if this trend continues, we may soon have to follow their example rather than to just criticize them.

Let's take as an instance Soviet versus American efforts to prevent the citizenry from listening to foreign broadcasts. The Soviets do this by means of jamming the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe, neither of which is an ordinary broadcasting station. Both were founded in the midst and with the purpose of serving the cold war. They are propaganda stations if there ever were any. Their programs are openly hostile to the government of the country to which they are beamed. On their staffs are many political refugees from the country they are broadcasting to. Radio jamming is not totally effective and were it not for the fact that many of our broadcasts do reach Soviet citizens, we would not be spending hundreds of millions of dollars for that purpose.

Voice of America and Radio Free Europe are only two out of many hundreds and thousands of foreign stations to which the Soviet citizen can listen. His government cannot jam all of them and there is no question but that the Soviet people are reached by millions of words from abroad.

As against the Soviet partial control of foreign broadcasts persistently criticized by us one can state without exaggeration that American control of foreign broadcasts is almost total. It is even more than control—actually the average American citizen is deprived of almost any possibility of being reached by a Soviet or any other foreign transmitter; he is deprived of a short wave radio.

While the Soviet method of air wave control through jamming can be used as a lever of foreign policy, the American method of control through absence of long-range receivers is permanent. When the Soviets decide to launch a more conciliatory foreign policy, as they are doing at the present, they possess the means of curtailing or even abandoning the control. In fact, jamming is presently on the decrease and there are many indications that it may be given up altogether. The American way of controlling foreign broadcasts does not offer similar flexibility, it is fixedly total. Hence, while Soviet radio jamming is used to "protect" the citizens against attacks upon their government, American receiver deprivation is a means of isolating the population from ANY foreign influence. It undoubtedly contributed to the mental and cultural isolationism of America, a phenomenon apparent to anyone who ever crossed the ocean.

It is incredible that the American home, which prides itself on two cars in the garage, a radio in practically every room including the kitchen, a few television sets, a score of sensible and two scores of nonsensical gadgets, does not possess a short wave receiver. At least in one respect Americans cannot boast of prosperity and progress; their receivers are the most miserable, inefficient and short-ranged in the world. The Bedouins in the desert would be quite contemptuous of radios which could not receive broadcasts from London, Paris, Tokyo, or Moscow and yet that is precisely what is put out on the American market by the largest appliance manufacturers in the world.

Compared with the modern efficiency of many other appliances, the primitivism of our radios arouses suspicions of being intentionally caused. Could it be that the American merchandiser, who leaves nothing to coincidence, nothing unplanned, has in one field totally failed? By the mere force of his salesmanship, he has thrust upon us automobiles that are too large for our garages and too fast for our highways, split-level homes with large mortgages and cramped closets, ingenious appliances that cost more to repair than replace, gadgets that make more work than they save, expensive china to store in our dining alcoves while we eat frozen dinners out of throw-away dishes, stereophonic high-fidelity television sets to listen to rock and roll and watch quiz programs. Did that ingenious salesman FORGET to market but one and only one item, and a natural hot seller at that—the short wave radio?

When they learned the truth about the quiz programs, the American public was shocked. Were we ever to learn the facts about the conspiracy which has isolated the Amercan public from foreign radio broadcasts by depriving it of

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WILL WE ABIDE BY THE WORLD COURT?

President Eisenhower's recent assurance, expressed in a letter to Senator Humphrey, that he will request Congress to eliminate the Connally reservation from the United States' acceptance of the World Court Statute is almost too good to be believed in. Not that we expect the President to break his promise, but at the same time it would seem overoptimistic to count on this Administration committing the United States to the unconditional jurisdiction of the World Court.

The Connally reservation permits the United States itself to decide which issues fall under its own and which under the World Court's jurisdiction.

It may well be expected that in keeping his word to Sen. Humphrey, the President will make some ostentatious gesture putting him on record for lawful order among nations. This will probably be used as an opportunity to din propaganda into the ears of the world. But we are almost ready to bet that whatever that gesture will be, somewhere-somehow it will contain a self-defeating scheme.

The world view which this Administration is taking seems to justify this pessimism even in the face of a declaration for whose fulfillment we hope and pray. Would it be realistic, for instance, to expect that our Government would allow the grievances of the Panamanian Government to be carried to the World Court, and agree in advance to abide by its verdict? It just sounds too good to be true.

One must bear in mind that the very veto privilege of the Big Five in the Security Council of the United Nations, the frequent Soviet use of which has drawn the wrath of our diplomats, was insisted upon by the United States. Even after the disillusioning way in which the unanimity principle worked out in the Security Council, it should not be supposed that this country would at this time consent to doing away with the veto right. We still live in a world in which each nation prefers to rely on its own muscles rather than on independent arbitration.

Were it not for this selfishness, expediency and hypocrisy the Charter of the United Nations would have included one provision which is conspicuous by its absence. It would establish the individual's responsibility for the act of war. It would make illegal the taking up of arms by individuals regardless of the dictates of their respective governments. It would establish a direct responsibility of the individual to the United Nations, yes, over the heads of his national government.

Not that we believe that such an international law would prevent war from ever being waged. But it would make waging war a much more difficult proposition. It would inspire the individual citizen to examine closely the credibility of his own government. It would be a moral booster to the non-aggressive elements of the population of an aggressive government. Such a government would first have to squelch internal opposition, something that might inspire it to weigh matters more carefully before actually departing on a precipitous course.

In the meantime we still live in an era in which our most reprehensible attributes as individuals, such as egotism, selfishness and exploitation of others, are converted into sheer patriotism when wrapped up in emotional slogans by nations.

When the political leaders of the world, our own included, are truly ready to give up warfare as an extension of diplomacy and a means for achieving their goals, perhaps then they will vest real judicial power in a world court. Unfortunately, that day does not seem to be at hand.

Our Two-Party System . . .

(Continued from page 1)

radical tendencies among her parliamentarians.

In fact, a society without political parties was the ideal and hope of the authors of the American Constitution, while a single party system was the ideal of such heroes of American history as Andrew Jackson, James Monroe and many others.

NO PARTY IS COMPLETELY MONOLITHIC

Even within totalitarian, one-party parliaments differences of emphasis, detail and nuance exist among their various composite groups. The span of such differences is often allowed to grow to surprising proportions. Indicative of it are the frequent purges by which such exclusive parties are afflicted. Although the purges come to put an end to some crucial internal controversy, they could hardly occur unless controversy was first allowed to develop. In such a case the political division into position and opposition has merely been transferred from the national to the one-party stage.

Stalin never resigned himself to the unavoidability of controversies. But in spite of his concept of obligatory ideological unity, his frequent purges demonstrated the failure of that concept. The history of the Communist Party is one of continuous struggles between mutually opposed factions. It started with the division into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, to be followed by the merciless fight between Trotsky's internationalistic faction and Stalin's faction of self-containment. Western accounts often portrayed such clashes—among them the ill-famed Moscow trials and the ascent to power by Malenkov, then Bulganin and then Khrushchev in the post-Stalin period—as nothing but mystifying personal intrigues. While this way of presenting the struggles helped make them repulsive to a public not prepared to follow the obscure intricacies of Communist problems anyway, in actuality the history of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government is more than a diary of personal relations among their leaders. In each of the conflicts honest but unavoidable differences of opinions and interests came into play. Each was a testimony to the fact that, while outwardly monolithic, inwardly the Communist Party was a conglomeration of varying views and interests.

The same was true of the German National Socialists. The assassination of Gen. Ernst Roehm, leader of the S. A., put an end to the protagonists of the so-called *"second revolution"* and attacked a strong and numerous opposition within the N.S.D.A.P. which was threatening to push the party into an even more radical course.

When we consider the range of tactical differences among the factions within the Nazi Party and the Communist Party, it becomes obvious that those differences have been much broader than the differences among all political tendencies represented in the United States Congress. For instance, the incompatibilities between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks or between Stalin and Trotsky were far more pronounced than the differences between the social programs of let's say the late Sen. Taft and the most *"liberal"* wing of the Democratic Party.

All members of the Supreme Soviet are pledged to, or at least do not oppose Communism, while all members of the American Congress are similarly pledged to, or at least do not oppose, the American version of capitalism. No one opposing Communism could conceivably be elected to the Soviet parliament, while no one opposing capitalism could conceivably be elected to the Congress of the United States.

At the same time both doctrines permit a certain leeway of interpretation within their respective countries. A Communist may advocate emphasis either upon capital investments or upon consumer goods still remaining faithful to the basic tenets of Communism, while a member of the United States Congress may either support the Tennessee Valley Authority or oppose it without betraying his loyalty to the predominance of free economic enterprise.

When we disregard matters of detail, emphasis and extremity we can readily see

"Democracy substitutes election by the incompetent many for appointment by the corrupt few."—George Bernard Shaw in "Man and Superman."

POLITICOCHARITY, POLITICOPENSION, POLITICOFELLOWSHIP

If American jurisprudence will be allowed to develop further in the direction in which it has been led by the McCarthys of all generations, we may soon be putting an FBI tail on each beggar prior to his collecting a nickel. When humanitarian projects are politically administered, this is an example of anti-humanitarianism. When political conditions attach to a person's right of gaining an education, this is anti-education. When social benefits such as pensions are politically or otherwise unmeritoriously conditioned, the *"social"* program is anti-social. One needs to be heartless to administer his *"goodness"* by criteria other than charity. One needs to be adulterous to education to eliminate from it those who do not serve his other-than-educational ends.

While we have been putting ourselves on the record as providing education for all and sundry, our young scholars are deprived of loans and fellowships provided under the National Defense Education Act, unless they subject themselves to the ridiculous and humiliating oath of loyalty which any secretly disloyal person would willingly take.

An even greater degree of stupidity mixed with maliciousness inspired Congress, in 1954, to pass the so-called *"Hiss law"* (Public Law 769) which revokes pensions to former Federal employees convicted of certain crimes or found to be uncooperative witnesses.

The members of the 83rd Congress knew full well that their intention in passing the law was unconstitutional, and if candidly reflected it would be voided as a bill of attainder. However, they *did not* give up their unconstitutional intention. They did not drop their illegal scheme of seeking vengeance against one man, Alger Hiss, but rather counsel was sought how to outwit and circumvent the Constitution. The ingenious congressmen begot an ingenious idea, the *"baby"* was born and christened Public Law 769.

As reported in the daily press, 177 persons have been affected by the law as of September 30, 1959, among them ten "security" cases. Ironically enough, Alger Hiss at whom the law was aimed, has remained so far unaffected by it. Those victimized include old men who spent a lifetime of service in the Federal Government building their security for old age, as well as widows and orphans of those who once qualified for pension but have been posthumously declared *persona non grata* by the new statute.

The adoption of the original Civil Service Retirement Act was a great social achievement. It stipulated that any Federal employee after a specified length of service and contributing as called upon, is eligible for pension at a specified age. No other conditions were attached, and nothing could deprive him or his survivors of the benefits once he qualified for them. The *"correction"* undertaken by the 83rd Congress was inspired by the opposite of social and humanitarian motives and it turned a milestone of social progress into a testimony to political hysteria.

While one may hope that the *"Hiss law"* will eventually be defeated, it would be a vindication of the Congress were it to take the required initiative rather than to have the courts do the sweeping.

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that in both countries the price of political dissention is a basic allegiance to their respective dominant public philosophies. For all practical purposes, both systems are ideologically monolithic.

Whether the basic unanimity is achieved through the compliance of several factions within one party or through the cooperation of two separate parties is no more than an organizational difference, utterly without substantive significance. Either way results in a monolithic system which not only discourages but indeed eliminates real opposition.

THE MEANS OF ELIMINATING EFFECTIVE OPPOSITION

The means of eliminating basic opposition depend much more on circumstances than on moral or political scruples. Each of the two regimes is ready to do everything necessary to prevent a real challenger from succeeding it to power.

If Khrushchev did not kill off Malenkov, Bulganin and Shepilov it was not because Khrushchev is more scrupulous than Stalin was. But under Khrushchev the power of the Soviet government was sufficiently consolidated so that it could at once be effectively and securely employed to direct national policies. This was not necessarily true in the initial stages of the Soviet government. Nor did Stalin's ascent to power automatically eliminate all prospects of the Troskyites, and therefore it was not enough to remove them from official positions. They had to be wiped out. As the disillusioned Milovan Djilas, Yugoslavia's one-time Communist theoretician, put it: *"The new class no longer needs the revolutionaries or dogmatists it once required . . . The new class itself is tired of dogmatic purges and training sessions. It would like to live quietly. It must protect itself even from its own authorized leader now that it has been adequately strengthened. Stalin remained the same as he was when the class was weak, when cruel measures were necessary against even those in its own ranks who threatened to deviate. Today this is all unnecessary."*[1] But even in recent times, when the opponent was a man like Beria who after removal from official position still left behind an organization faithful to himself, it was necessary not only to depose but to physically eliminate him for all times, the inclination to *"live quietly"* notwithstanding.

The differences between these methods of eliminating effective opposition and the ones resorted to in the United States have more to do with circumstances than with morals. When moderate preventive steps can be relied on, there is no need to resort to more drastic methods. But when the *"menace"* becomes serious, there is hardly a constitutional provision which would not be compromised by the *"patriots"* in order to hold the opposition at bay.

In 1959 many prominent Americans could well afford to participate in the birthday celebration of a man like Norman Thomas and treat him with a full measure of courtesy, amiability and social acceptability. But only forty years earlier, when the Socialist Party of America was growing big enough to become a potential contender for power, no methods were spared, including terrorism, to prevent a real opposition from entering the domestic political stage. Perhaps less drastic but not less effective and unconstitutional measures were employed against the Progressive Party of Henry Wallace.

In 1916 and 1917 the Socialist Party had emerged from the municipal elections as a major political force. When, in Chicago, it scored 34 per cent of the total vote, the local Democratic leader, Roger Sullivan, made the only logical, if somewhat naive, suggestion that it might be *"time to amalgamate the Republican and Democratic parties in the nation in a new lineup of conservatives and radicals."*[2] But the prospect of a real oplitical opposition establishing itself has been dealt with differently; the Socialist Party had to be wiped out. When, in November 1918, the Socialist Victor Berger was elected to Congress, the House of Representatives, with only one dissenting vote, refused to seat him. When, in December 1919, Berger defeated a fusion candidate in a special election, he was again denied a seat in the House.[3]

WHAT AN AMERICAN PARTY IS NOT

With all this there still remains the phenomenon of two parties in the United States and one must further explain how this phenomenon, in spite of technicalities, settles with the monolithic nature of

(Continued on page 10)

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[1] *The New Class,* pub. by Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1957, p. 52

[2] Re-quoted from *Anti-War Sentiment and the Socialist Party, 1917-1918,* by James Weinstein, in the June 1959 issue of *Political Science Quarterly,* p. 234

[3] *Opponents of War, 1917-1918,* by H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1957, p. 166

Between Communism and the Status Quo

(*Continued from page 2*)

opment may well take place under the impact of external national difficulties, or accompany a severe internal crisis.

This problem is so serious that it is virtually impossible to assume that our national leadership has not devoted some serious thought to it. If, nevertheless, our leaders chose to prevent a more-than-a-propagandistic appreciation of Communism on the part of the general public, it must have done so for overwhelming reasons. Obviously, it must have been the choice of the lesser of two evils. It remains, therefore, to speculate on the rejected alternative.

This *"greater"* of the two evils, as seen by the proponents of the exalted status quo, is dual in nature.

While intelligent instruction about Communism in a society like our's would bear little danger of converting people into Communists, it may well encourage them to analyze the *"final righteousness"* of our present social set-up. Communist analysis of the capitalist system is not all sheer nonsense. Our anti-trust laws, for instance, were to a great measure inspired by Communist predictions with respect to the development of capitalism. This analysis exposes many an Achilles heel in our prevailing economic system.

An individual aware of such weaknesses, even if he should not accept the Communist solution, may well start searching for alternatives. Anyway, having been exposed to a critical analysis of our society, the individual could hardly continue to extol, uncritically, all that is inherent in our system of government, production, and marketing. *"Economic or political or social intelligence may be needed to save the nation and the world, but our people are not interested in saving the nation or the world. That, they can turn over to the un-American committees. They are interested in profits and in the objective manifestations of pecuniary success. An intelligent understanding of our foreign policy or of the Taft-Hartley Act has no discernible earning value and, if detected, is likely to arouse public suspicion of communistic subversion. Most intelligent Americans — and this would, of course, include professors of economics — are commonly believed to be communists."*[1]

The proponents of the untouchability of the status quo care little from which quarters their setbacks would come. Communism, Socialism, or any other revisionism are all equally deplorable to them. *"In no country in the world is the love of property more active and more anxious than in the United States; nowhere does the majority display less inclination for those principles which threaten to alter, in whatever manner, the laws of property."*[2] As soon as any kind of a revisionism gained the strength of a serious contender for power, it would be attacked with all force and determination, irrelevant of the ideological, ethical, and spiritual qualities of such a revisionism. The mind of the citizen has to be kept under strict control in order to make sure that the majority will persist in its unswerving loyalty to the prevailing laws of property.

A citizen exposed to social ideas, even if wrong ones and even if in the final run he rejects them, learns to think in terms of changes and alternatives. This in itself is most undesirable to the advocates

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[1] From *The American Way*, by John Ise, a book so brilliantly individualistic, that, presumably, the only way for it to be published was through the personal sponsorship by the members of the faculty in the Department of Economics and School of Business at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, 1955, as a tribute to the author upon his retirement from that faculty.

[2] *Democracy in America*, Alexis De Tocqueville, Alfred A. Knopf, 1956, New York, Vol. II, p. 256.

> *"The people never give up their liberties but under some delusion."* — From a 1784 speech by Edmund Burke.
>
> *"The condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance; which condition if he break, servitude is at once the consequence of his crime, and the punishment of his guilt."* — From a 1790 speech by John Philpot Curran.

TALKING PROFITS

Our Cost-Pl

When one considers that certain products are successfully marketed by a manufacturer who charges a much higher price than his competitors, it becomes apparent that in our economy supply and demand do not function with the precision ascribed to them by the prophets of unrestricted economic enterprise. When the Upjohn Co. and the Merck Co. have been successfully marketing prednisone at a wholesale price of $17.90 per 100 tablets, while smaller companies have been selling the same amount at from $4.00 to $12.00 (as disclosed during a recent hearing before the Congressional Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee), the quesion arises how come the big profiteers did not price themselves out of the market. Not less inconsistent with the *"natural order"* of free enterprise is the phenomenon that so many inferior articles are marketed successfully, while the same articles of a higher quality turn out to be commercial flops even if they are offered at a lower price. When finally a food market fails to sell a certain brand of food at 30 cents a can, but empties its warehouse in no time by *"promoting"* three cans for a dollar, the traditional logic of *laissez-faire* is frustrated.

Quesnay, Turgot, Adam Smith, Ricardo and many others would have to revise some of their most important conclusions were they to apply them to the present day American economy. These theoretical forerunners of capitalism shared the basic belief in a *"natural order"* of things which, if not interfered with, would create economic stability and benefit all segments of society. The most important balancing role in this *"natural order"* was ascribed to supply and demand as well as to free competition.

According to laissez-faireism the consumer does not need political protection against the tendency of manufacturers to overcharge their products. Such protection would be provided automatically and *"naturally"* by the interplay of supply and demand and the competitive bidding to the consumer.

David Ricardo applied the formula of supply and demand to wages and came up with his subsistence theory. Applied to the relation between manufacturer and consumer the supply and demand formula seems to justify a theory if not of profit subsistence at least of profit moderation and stability. Paraphrasing Ricardo one could contend that the consumer is protected against excessive profits by the manufacturer and marketer because: Should those profits be excessive, investors would be attracted to the particular profitable field thereby increasing the total production, causing a bigger supply which would in turn depress prices and profits. On the other hand should the profits from manufacturing and marketing a certain product fall below the *"moderation level"*, business would seek other fields of enterprise thereby reducing the total output of the particular article and causing a rise in its price.

One can go a step further in paraphrasing Ricardo to arrive at a current argument of the advocates of *laissez-faire*. His principle seems also to apply to production and marketing efficiency. If, for instance, uneconomic methods were used for the production or marketing of a particular product, causing an increase in the cost to the consumer, the particular production field would attract imaginative investors who, developing more efficiency in manufacture, marketing, or both, would decrease the cost to the consumer. They would force the less efficient producers and marketers either to adopt the more efficient methods, or to leave the production field.

This is how the system of free enterprise is SUPPOSED to work and this constitutes the chief argument of its advocates against any interference of the state in economic matters.

Were supply and demand and competitive bidding the only checks on our economy, excessive profits would hardly be possible. The producers of prednisone at $4.00 per 100 tablets should have long ago priced the Upjohn Co. and the Merck Co. out of the market. Any enterprise which markets its merchandise at an added value of several hundred or several thousand per cent, should have been put out of business by efficient

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us Economy

competition.

What is happening in those fields of the economy which cannot complain about interference on the part of the Government and which are left to the free interplay of the *"natural"* factors?

Perhaps the fault is to be found in a too *"pioneering"* spirit of our business. Were our economy based on the classical concepts of *laissez-faire,* any investor contemplating entering a particular line would give up the thought upon realizing that his product would reach the consumer at a price many times the production cost. He would be aware that competition would not allow such disproportion to endure. However, our investor does not get discouraged and does not give up. He totals up the actual production cost, the necessary overhead to reach the market, adds to it what he believes to be a warranted profit and comes up with a wholesale price. This is a most classical case of an economy based on a cost-plus principle in polar opposition to competitive bidding. That he can do so and still succeed is due to the fact that his competitors also base their business calculation on the same cost-plus principle.

Were the courageous investor wrong in his calculation, he would be proved so by being put out of business. But if anything, he is likely to be proved wrong only if his calculation was too *"conservative"*. His challenge may well lie not in decreasing his overhead but on the contrary, in finding ways to increase it. Had he charged more, had the cost to the consumer been even more disproportionate in relation to the production cost, he could have afforded a sufficient advertising and sales budget to carry his product over no matter what. The only way to insure the success of his product was to keep increasing its price till it would provide a safe, risk free advertising and sales program.

What we actually encounter here does not necessarily prove the prophets of the *"natural order"* wrong. The trouble is that in our economy the various factors of free enterprise are not given free interplay. The interference does not come from the state, it comes from media whose emergence Quesnay could not have anticipated—factors whose sole purpose is not to allow things to develop *"naturally"*. These media are advertising and supersalesmanship. They provide the outside interference which in their own language is referred to as *"sales stimulation"*, *"creating of a market"* etc. and which in actuality perverts the free enterprise system and distorts its natural factors and the interplay among them. While we have been so jealously guarding against *"artificial"* governmental restraints and regulations, such restraints and regulations have been imposed by unexpected quarters of business itself.

The psychological impact of this distortion is of great consequence. Often, business becomes no more than the art of *"making money"*—*"pecunia non olet"* becomes the guide rather than social enterprise. A cynicism develops which respects nothing but the shrewdest gimmick, the legally best protected misrepresentation and dishonesty.

Not less damaging is the psychological effect upon labor. The laborer and the professional, the farmer and the artisan, they all realize that the richest fruit comes from marketing. Subsequently they stop being laborers and professionals, farmers and artisans and instead become merchants of labor, merchants of professions, merchants of farming and merchants of craftsmanship. Everybody is a businessman, developing no real attachment to his vocation or profession, but instead treating it as a store owner treats the merchandise on his shelves.

Whether with all these distortions our system is still that of free economic enterprise, or whether it warrants some new designation is open to debate. The striking difference between our society and other capitalistic societies lies perhaps in the fact that business through effective use of psychology made us accept, or resign ourselves to, its complete predominance over all other aspects of life. This is not quite as true about other capitalistic countries.

of the status quo. They, therefore, undertake to engineer a mind which will be incapable of contemplating or desiring basic changes in prevailing relationships. Such a mind has to be kept in a static, unthinking, unprovoked state of semi-consciousness. That's how De Tocqueville found that while in America *"men are in constant motion"*, at the same time *"the mind of man appears almost unmoved"*.[3]

And so, even where the issues pertain to the very life and future of the nation, the average citizen is discouraged from gaining an intelligent understanding. Instead, the term Communism prevails in him as an obscure, inarticulate emotional state. Instead of knowing the term, he perceives it with all the fuzziness of a neurotic complex. Without really knowing what Communism is, he hates it. All that he emotionally perceives as being evil is Communism. This is achieved through the irrationalities of the mob's moods; *"the public . . . does not persuade others to its beliefs, but it imposes them and makes them permeate the thinking of everyone by a sort of enormous pressure of the mind of all upon the individual intelligence. In the United States the majority undertakes to supply a multitude of ready-made opinions for the use of individuals, who are thus relieved from the necessity of forming opinions of their own. Everybody there adopts great numbers of theories, on philosophy, morals, and politics, without inquiry, upon public trust . . ."*[4]

Such emotional perception of Communism provides the protagonists of the status quo with another advantage. It supplies them with a label which, if attached to anything apprehensible or hostile, makes it the object of the citizens' automatic hatred. This is how lobbying is achieved through the use of the term Communism. Anything opposed to the immediate interests of those in power and of influence, is depicted as Communism, be it extensive public housing, increased spending on education, public health programs, or a competitor for public office.

As for myself, I oppose Communism because I do not believe it to be achievable without terror, oppression, and imposed conformity. Unlike many critics of Communism, I believe that the inhumanness of Russian Communism is only to a very slight degree due to the historic inclinations and preconditions of the Russian people. In the main, it is due to the very mechanics of Communism. I can visualize no nation, irrelevant of its historic and psychological background, which could institute Communism without the essentials of terror, oppression, and forced conformity. Rather than the exception, the Russian version of Communism is typical.

By instituting terror, oppression, and imposed conformity, Communism loses, permanently and irrevocably, the very ideals it originally set out to achieve. Indeed, originating as a revolution, whether bloody or not, Communism soon becomes an oligarchy with vested interests in the preservation of the new status quo. It becomes reactionary towards any further development of man's mind.

But, this opposition to Communism does not make me join the advocates of the non-Communist status quo.

The world is still full of misery, deprivation, blood shedding, cruelties, indignities, injustices, exploitation, ignorance, and bad intent. And as long as this is the prevailing picture, it is anti-social and immoral to advocate the preservation of the existing relations. Nor do I give a proxy on my public philosophy to those who in spite of, or perhaps because of, the prevailing injustices, happen to be sufficiently well off to wish all clocks to stop. Least of all am I willing or ready to give credence to the self-professed whys of their stand on public affairs.

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[3] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 257.

[4] Ibid., Vol. II, p. 10.

"Necessity is the plea for every infringement of human freedom. It is the argument of tyrants; it is the creed of slaves." — WILLIAM PITT ADDRESSING THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN 1783.

"The reasonable man adapts himself to the world: the unreasonable one persists in trying to adapt the world to himself. Therefore all progress depends on the unreasonable man." — GEORGE BERNARD SHAW IN "MAN AND SUPERMAN".

Our Two-Party System...

(Continued from page 7)

American political life. This necessarily leads to an analysis of the American party itself.

American political parties have always puzzled the political scientist due to the fact that there seems to be little similarity between them and what is called a party anywhere else.

Webster's dictionary defines a party as a *"body of persons forming one side in a contest especially one of the sections into which a people is divided on public questions with specific reference to politics where you have organized groups of the electorate that try to control government through election of its candidates to office"*; the Oxford dictionary defines it as *"a number of persons united in maintaining a cause, policy, opinion, etc. in opposition to others who maintain a different one."*

These definitions obviously do not qualify the two American *"parties"* as parties since there is no body of opinions which each holds in opposition to the other.

In order to join a party anywhere outside the U. S. a man has to find himself in agreement with its cause, policy, opinion etc., and usually his statement to this effect is a pre-requisite of membership. No such qualification is required by our two *"parties"*. Indeed, one's views on public affairs are hardly considered in qualifying or disqualifying for party affiliation.

While there is a popular notion that the Democratic Party, in contrast to the Republican Party, is that of the *"small man"*, this is more a matter of public image, carefully planted through advertising campaigns, than the result of a definite ideological position. Indicative of it is the desperate search for *"issues"* on the part of our parties in pre-election periods.

Notwithstanding the fact that the two American parties are perpetually on the look-out for *"campaign issues"*, both pursue the principle of not exploiting really important and basic matters for *"partisanship"*. Patriotism is construed as automatic compliance with the foreign policies of whoever is in government. There seems to exist a standing, unwritten agreement that neither party will cause serious trouble to the government in matters of foreign policy. Such foreign issues as often divide the populations of other Western countries are in the U.S.A. taken out of the area of privileged dissention and controversy. In the midst of the Suez crisis the British government found itself under a merciless attack by the Labor Party. France's main national issue, Algeria, has been a dividing line between its political parties; governments have been created and ousted on the merits of their Algerian policy. Nothing of the kind is imaginable in the United States. Once the cry *c'est la guerre!* is heard, Democrat and Republican alike join in singing the *Star Spangled Banner.* Dissention in such a situation would be considered not less than treasonous.

Our so called party platforms do not constitute a statement of unswerving beliefs, inspired by a crusading desire to educate the public to the party's principles. The opposite is true: it is the public who indirectly authors such platforms. They are a calculated attempt, based on the results of public polls and surveys, to promise whatever the public would like to be promised. They are flattering rather than educational.

An ideology is not a set of slogans chosen for their popular appeal; it must be inwardly inspired. And devotion to it should not diminish or grow depending on public acclaim. It is a banner to be carried, accompanied by a readiness to crusade, to endure and to conquer.

THE AMERICAN POLITICIAN

Unfortunately our political platform makers do not choose to carry banners; they merely try to follow the parade. *"The great American political chieftains without exception have had to be astute opportunists free from petrified ideas, and expediency has accordingly been the key of their party practices."*[4] Walter Lippmann offers a more penetrating analysis of the unideological nature of our party leaders: *"It is much safer to keep in step with the parade of opinion than to try to keep up with the swifter movement of events. In government offices which are sensitive to the vehemence and passion of mass sentiment public men have no sure tenure. They are in effect perpetual office seekers, always on trial for their political lives, always required to court their restless constituents. They are deprived of their independence. Democratic politicians rarely feel they can afford the luxury of telling the whole truth to the people."*[5] Little of the crusading sincerity of the idealist motivates our politicians. *"With exceptions so rare that they are regarded as miracles and freaks of nature, successful democratic politicians are insecure and intimidated men. They advance politically only as they placate, appease, bribe, seduce, bamboozle, or otherwise manage to manipulate the demanding and threatening elements in their constituency. The decisive consideration is not whether the proposition is good but whether it is popular—not whether it will work well and prove itself but whether the active talking constituents like it immediately. Politicians rationalize this servitude by saying that in a democracy public men are the servants of the people."*[6] These characteristics are not confined to the big national party machineries. They permeate public activities on every level. Max Lerner, who displays an almost enviable ability to penetrate most critically the negative aspects of American life but then consolingly to vindicate them, offers the following description: *"A balanced picture of the local political organizations would take account of the corruption, the alternations of reform and despair, the residues of the old ethnic 'machines', and the emergence of a new type of boss or 'leader' who could better be described as a 'manager', since he has become part of the new technical forces that organize so many sectors of American life. The drive for power is a crucial element in the motivation of these managers, but there are others as well: personal ambition, the hunger for prestige and respectability, the pull and excitement of the political 'game', the eagerness for community standing on the part of members of ethnic minorities who can find such standing only in politics, the desire to be associated with the national party leaders and to appear in public with the great men on their campaign visits."*[7]

This picture of the American political scene was as true over a century ago as it is today. Alexis De Tocqueville described America's public leaders as follows: *"I have heard of patriotism in the United States, and I have found true patriotism among the people, but never among the leaders of the people. . . . They are forever talking of the natural intelligence of the people whom they serve; they do not debate the question which of the virtues of their master*—the public—*is pre-eminently worthy of admiration, for they assure him that he possesses all the virtues without having acquired them, or without caring to acquire them. . . . Moralists and philosophers in America are not obliged to conceal their opinions under the veil of allegory; but before they venture upon a harsh truth, they say: 'We are aware that the people whom we are addressing are too superior to the weaknesses of human nature to lose the command of their temper for an instant. We should not hold this language if we were not speaking to men whom their virtues and intelligence render more worthy of freedom than all the rest of the world.' The sycophants of Louis XIV could not flatter more dexterously."*[8] Outmoded language but what a familiar style!

Even the early periods of American history, which have understandably been glorified, bear bitter disappointments for the researcher who rejects nationalistic bias. For instance, *"The romantic interpretation of the politics of the post Civil War period so indoctrinated two generations of Americans that it became almost sacriligious to regard the statesmen of an earlier generation as human beings. The magic spell of party mythology seems to have been broken largely by Beard's presentation of hitherto neglected data revealing a correlation between economics and politics in the making of the Constitution and the establishment of the Federal government. Against such revelations not even the academicians were shock-proof and the poignant distress of the laity was immediately epitomized in the curt remark of an ex-President of the United States on*

(Continued on page 12)

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[4] *American Political Parties* by Wilfred E. Binkley, Alfred A. Knopf, 3rd edition, 1959, p. X

[5] *The Public Philosophy,* Little, Brown & Co., 1955, p. 26

[6] Ibid., p. 27

[7] *America as a Civilization,* Simon and Schuster, New York, 1959, p. 385

[8] *Democracy in America,* Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1956, Vol. I, pp. 267-268

The Shy Censors

(Continued from page 5)

instruments necessary to receive them, no legal dictionary would provide language strong enough to designate the fraud.

Such a conspiracy must be politically inspired. The manufacturers alone would not perpetrate it; they would hardly voluntarily give up the prospect of profits from mass production of short wave radios.

Of course our diplomats and the brainwashed-and-brainwashing press can easily attack Soviet Russia for jamming Radio Free Europe. We can never be accused of doing anything of the kind. But we have resorted to a much more effective, indeed a totally effective, method without opening ourselves to accusations of direct air wave censorship.

There is at least one more respect in which we fall short among the highly developed countries in the world. Our postal services seem to suffer from a chronic constipation. As in a remote village of India so in the United States, the citizen receives his mail only once a day, and there are many more faults so generally known that there is no need to restate them.

In the case of our Post Office however I will readily come to its defense. The truth of the matter is that our government has overburdened one office with two different, often contradictory tasks. What we call the Post Office actually comprises two governmental agencies—the Post Office and the Department of Censorship. It is the job of a post office to deliver mail but it is the job of a censor to withhold mail. Each case of such split responsibility must result in inefficiency. Personally, I am in favor of either of two possible solutions: either let's dispense with the machinery of censorship altogether and let our government start living up to the Constitution, or, if calling for compliance with the Constitution sounds somewhat "pinko" these days, let's allow the Post Office to do its job, relieve it of the censorship orphan and create an official Department of Censorship represented by name and seat in the President's Cabinet.

If what our Post Office is doing is not contrary to the Constitution, and if it is in the best public interest, why not call the child by its true name? Why be embarrassed about it?

I would like to visit, for no longer than one minute, the mind and heart of Postmaster General Summerfield on an occasion when he voices his wrath against the lot of Doctor Zhivago in Soviet Russia. I would like to use such a mental vivisection to witness the pitying of each other by Yuri Zhivago and Lady Chatterley's gamekeeper. . . .

Since all our prominent citizens are ready to serve the public by making addresses, for a fee, to clubs for "boys" over fifty and "girls" over sixty, there must have been some occasion on which I could have heard Mr. Summerfield dissert on the horrors of a Soviet Government which has little sympathy for citizens who maintain correspondence with foreign countries. That he himself has usurped the power of classifying any foreign mail as propaganda and refusing delivery to the addressee, apparently has not disqualified him as the prophet of free information. That he dares the addressee of such mail to sign a statement demanding that the mail be delivered to him, reflects Mr. Summerfield's concept of unhampering the mail.

Of course, Mr. Summerfield would have a ready reply for me. He would claim that what differentiates us is his patriotic devotion to America. Perhaps he is indeed a bigger patriot, but does that give him the privilege of also being an imposter? Maybe the welfare of America calls for censorship. If so, why not admit it and add to the gentleman's title something which would more closely reflect the burden of his duties, something like Censor General of the United States Government?

All I am pleading for is a mere titular adjustment. And while this kind of pleading may sound unpatriotic to some people, at least it is consistent with the facts.

SUPPLEMENT TO "THE UGLY AMERICAN"

The Ambassadors of Ill Will

Without having done any research on the subject, I assume that the members of the Brockton Club hockey team who recently visited the Soviet capital grew up like most American youngsters. I venture to guess that during the course of their school years they had daily pledged allegiance *"to the flag of the United States of America"*, that in due time they had been sent by their parents to join the Cub- and later the Boy-Scouts, and subsequently they grew up as *"wholesome American boys"*, devoted to country, to church and in their case also to hockey. Indeed, they became such *"wholesome American boys"* that they qualified as ambassadors of good will to America's principal adversary. Their true task was to convince those they came in contact with and those who heard of them that the picture of the true American is quite different from the one depicted by an antagonistic propaganda.

How was it possible that such boys should not have been patriotically inspired during their mission to Moscow?

When one reads in *Sports Illustrated* that these American *"representatives"* made themselves noticeable in Moscow by *"lounging in the* (hotel) *lobby, wolf-calling the ladies and making passes at the female guests and help in the elevators and hallways* (and) *soon the complaints were pouring in from those who had their bottoms pinched and skirts raised"*, one cannot help but wonder how effective the patriotic upbringing which our schools, youth movements and society in general offer, really is.

Or, perhaps we should not judge those Brockton Club sportsmen too severely. Perhaps the fault for their in effect unpatriotic behavior lies squarely with us? Perhaps they displayed the same kind of personality of which so many American tourists abroad are being accused? And perhaps their way of *"representing"* their country was also related to the disrespectful attitude which is so often displayed towards foreigners in America?

Bottom pinching in Moscow and annoyance at the sound of a foreign accent in the streets of American cities go hand in hand. Both are the offspring of chauvinistic arrogance to which nothing and nobody foreign count.

The impressions left behind in the Soviet capital by our hockey players will not be erased by the official apology of American sports authorities.

The State Department is pursuing a praiseworthy program of instructing tourists to serve as real ambassadors of good will abroad. It is also helping to promote the recently published book *The Ugly American* by William J. Lederer and Eugene Burdick. But there is an important lesson to be learned from the fact that at least in the case of the hockey players the attempted indoctrination has failed: No briefing is going to beget ambassadors of good will. Their responsibility is not something that can be improvised. We need not be taught how to ACT, but we need to be taught how to BE.

As long as our society is nourished by a feeling of national superiority, as long as we indulge in the ill-advised luxury of considering anything foreign beneath us, we shall be incapable of producing ambassadors of good will. And those who are sent to act as such will cause us embarrassment whether they walk through the streets of Paris in pajamas, pinch bottoms in the hotel lobbies of Moscow, or pinch souls in the cafes of Asia.

Our Two-Party System . . .

(*Continued from page 10*)

the ECONOMIC - INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTION: 'The professor seems to have his facts all right but what did the d- fool mean by publishing them?' "[9]

In quintessence, were an applicant for membership in the Democratic Party to attach a Republican platform to his application, claiming it to be his own, he would not be disqualified. Nor would an applicant to the Republican Party were he to use a Democratic platform. That's why a layman or a politician who calls himself a *"Democrat"* or a *"Republican"* tells us nothing about the causes, policies or opinions for which he stands. That's why many Republicans have more in common with many Democrats than they have with some other Republicans, and vice versa.

The differences between a party as universally known and an American party goes further. While universally a party is a more or less permanently existing organization which, theoretically, intends to exist for as long as it will take to achieve its public goals, in America being a Democrat or a Republican does not necessarily imply actual membership, but merely reflects the ballot on which one cast his vote in the last elections, or the one he intends to cast his vote on in a forthcoming election.

One becomes a leader or representative of a political party in the universal meaning after satisfying fellow members that he qualifies to lead or work for the cause, policy, opinion etc. for which the party stands. Since there is no specific ideological cause, policy, opinion, etc. for which the American party as such stands, its leaders are chosen on the merits of the electorate's readiness to support their personal ambition to make politics their personal career.

WHAT IS AN AMERICAN PARTY?

It is not enough to say what an American party is not. One needs also to define what it IS. Since party affiliation is deprived of ideological conditions and since leadership is no more than an affair of a personal career, an American party amounts to a sponsorship apparatus for the promotion of such personal careers. It is an advertising agency specializing in the field of public elections. *"The tough fabric of the* (American) *party is to be found in the persistent and continuing bread-and-butter efforts to elect Senators, Congressmen, governors and other state officials, sheriffs, county attorneys, and the wild bewildering array of administrative and judicial posts which form the jungle of American local politics."*[10]

The writer, artist or actor choose the agency which will promote their careers, and the man who decides to make politics his career and livelihood chooses his party for the same reason. As the writer retains his literary independence from the commercial agency that sponsors him, so does the prospecting politician retain his political independence from the party he hires, or which hires him, for the effective planning of his promotion. The writer owes his agency a commission of ten per cent for all manuscripts sold, while the prospecting politician obligates himself to support the party apparatus as such but nothing else.

When a political figure changes his party affiliation this does not result from an ideological mutation but strictly from personal relations and tactics. Senator Morse, for instance, was ideologically the same Sen. Morse as a Republican as he was as an Independent and as he is as a Democrat.

The party as advertising and sponsoring agency specializing in public elections has even made it possible to offer its leadership to outsiders who were never committed to the party. For instance, one may become a Republican President by virtue of an election sponsorship agreement rather than by virtue of his prolonged party affiliation.

The paradox goes even further when both political "parties" seek one and the same person to become their candidate for the Presidency, or any other public office. Were the ideological relationship between the two parties that of contradiction, such inter-party compliance would never be possible, as position and opposition cannot physically be exercised simultaneously by one and the same apparatus.

All this makes abundantly clear that whether or not a political system is diversified rather than monolithic does not depend so much on who is included on the lists of candidates for public office and why, but much more on who IS NOT or CANNOT be included on such lists and why.

The voting privileges of the Soviet citizen are deprived of significance precisely because the state apparatus makes sure that no candidates will be included on the ballot who might question or oppose outright the prevailing system. The same holds true in the American two-party system, where the basic selection is made by the two sponsoring agencies both insisting on unquestioning allegiance to the basic prevailing system.

The decisions reached by the sponsoring apparatus in making up lists of candidates are immensely more important than the ones left to the electorate. The latter may choose between the nuances of one and the same system, but never between the system itself and its alternative.

Perhaps in this is one respect modern political parties resemble Plato's democracy of the qualified. Perhaps, without publicly admitting it, the inner circles of the Soviet and the American systems consider themselves qualified to lead a guided democracy as Plato conceived of it. But Plato's democracy varied very much from our own which amounts to no more than a voting technique. Were Plato to endorse such a popular voting technique he would have never said: *"Like everybody else in Athens I consider the Athenians reasonable people and I witness that when we assemble at the forum to deal with matters pertaining to city planning we seek the advice of those among us who are construction experts, when we talk about ships we consult ship experts and in every other question we consult the experts in the particular field. However, when a man has the audacity to offer advice without his being considered an expert, his opinion will not be accepted though he might be of pleasant appearance, rich and well-bred, and furthermore he will even be ridiculed. . . . But when matters of state come up anyone gets up and offers counsel: a mason, a blacksmith, a cobbler, a merchant, a navigator, the rich, the poor, the well bred and the common people, and no one reprimands them, as will happen on other occasions, for offering advice without being able to prove their qualifications."*[11]

In the United States the *"Forum of Experts"*, who decide on the more important questions independently of the electorate, consists of the apparatus of the two parties; in the Soviet Union that *"Forum of Experts"* consists of the members of the Communist Party. *In the former only* a few scores of thousands of individuals are involved, while in the latter case the *"forum"* accommodates several million individuals. We are forced to conclude that in neither case is the popular base of the system very wide; the Communist society, however, displays a wide edge over its American counterpart. When relatively insignificant matters are involved, insignificant in relation to the basic question of retaining or altering the basic system, then and only then is the American citizen given more opportunity for expression than his Soviet counterpart.

If we disregard the organizational structure of the two American parties and their career sponsoring function and instead use ideological criteria, then it is an inescapable conclusion that actually the Congress of the United States is one political party, factionalized as that party may be.

THE REAL AMERICAN PARTY

Such an American Party, of which the Democratic Party and the Republican Party are only integral components, displays the usual characteristics of political parties anywhere and meets Webster's and the Oxford dictionaries' definitions. Its ideological tenets consist of unswerving devotion to the capitalistic economy, to the predominance of business over all

(*Continued on page 14*)

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[9] *American Political Parties* by Wilfred E. Binkley, p. X

[10] *America as a Civilization*, p. 382

[11] This is a quote from memory and a translated memory quote at that. While the wording may be inaccurate, Plato's thought was retained faithfully. The specific place in Plato's writings from which the quote stems escaped the author's memory.

To Our Readers:

THE MINORITY OF ONE is an attempt to introduce a truly independent periodical; there are no groups who sponsor it, there are no advertisers whose tastes have to be considered.

THE MINORITY OF ONE carries no specific political message and has no loyalty other than independence of thought. Its name derives from its purpose—to contribute to the individual's intellectual self-assertion. You and I are the minorities of one if only we do not fear our thoughts. Our thoughts may collide, or they may coincide or complement each other, but even then let us each remain a minority of one. Let our resolutions meet, and preferably in harmony, but let us never alter them just so they can get along with each other.

This is *ALL* THE MINORITY OF ONE stands for.

If you lend us support on *this,* no matter how many of our specific views you may dissent from, we believe you to be our friend.

As worthy as our cause may be—and we have no illusions, we know that many people wish to see us out of existence—this publication cannot endure and succeed unless those who welcome it will give it their active support.

We do not call for special considerations. We are confident that if our subscribers' list will include a significant number of those who favor it, we will easily make a go of it.

THE MINORITY OF ONE . . .*

Gutenberg's invention of modern printing gave mankind not only a revolutionary means for exchanging ideas but also a powerful weapon for manipulating man's mind.

Of all of man's rights and liberties the most precious one is freedom of thought. It is the quintessence of freedom. As George Orwell put it: *"Freedom is the freedom to say that two plus two make four. If that is granted, all else follows."*

Of all oppressions the oppression of thought operates through the subtlest channels. It is incomparably less conspicuous than starvation, denial of political rights, or corporal abuse. Like a tasteless poison, it attacks the victim without warning.

One particular form of thought oppression is the most degrading of human experiences; its victims are masses of volunteers, mentally anaesthetized by orthodoxy and conformity. Again to quote Orwell: *"Orthodoxy means not thinking—not needing to think. Orthodoxy is unconsciousness."* Orthodoxy is mental suicide.

THE MINORITY OF ONE will tear away at the invisible chains of the mind. It will exercise the right of saying that two plus two make four, paying no heed to political taboos.

We believe that the ultimate test of a civilization's worthiness and ability to survive lies in the quality of the individuals it produces. Hurrah-patriotism, flag waving, and blind, nationalistic self-contentment are no substitutes. In the fierce international competition of our era, they will prove not only futile, but also detrimental to our society. If we are to be both worthy and able to survive the Communist challenge, we must be prepared to make a national virtue of self-criticism.

Self-criticism is not inimical to patriotism. On the contrary, it is an indispensable ingredient of genuine concern and devotion to one's society. Otherwise, only the stupid could be patriotic . . .

To retain its independence, THE MINORITY OF ONE will not be open to commercial advertising. Its success will depend entirely on the support of its readers. We trust that those who welcome truly free discussion will not only themselves become subscribers, but also help us to reach their friends.

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* Introductory article from the first issue.

Our only request is that YOU FILL OUT YOUR SUBSCRIPTION FORM *NOW.* IF YOU WISH, ALSO SPONSOR OTHER READERS BY SENDING THEM A GIFT SUBSCRIPTION. AND THERE MUST BE SOME PEOPLE YOU KNOW OF WHO WOULD APPRECIATE GETTING A SAMPLE COPY. YOU CAN BE OF SERVICE TO THEM AND TO US BY SUGGESTING THEIR NAMES.

"I expect to pass through this world but once; any good thing therefore that I can do, or any kindness that I can show to any fellow-creature, let me do it now; let me not defer or neglect it for I shall not pass this way again."

—AUTHORSHIP DISPUTED.

The Relative Importance of Summit Talks

(Continued from page 1)

The fact that Gen. Lauris Norstad, supreme Allied commander in Europe, has failed to gain the consent of NATO countries with the exception of Italy and Turkey to establish intermediate range missile bases on their soil was undoubtedly precipitated by these Soviet threats.

As to the holding of a summit conference, the Soviets knew that all the pressure was on the West, not only because they possessed in their arsenal quite a variety of weapons calculated to intimidate the West (transfer of communication controls of Berlin to the East Germans, signing a separate peace treaty with them, blockading West Berlin), but also because of Western public opinion which was ever more aggressively in favor of talking with the Russians. They could therefore safely count on a summit conference taking place whether or not they agreed to pay an admission fee.

On the other hand the Soviets could not possibly have been pained by manifestations of Western reluctance towards a summit conference. The longer they could appear as the only advocates of it, the longer they could claim to be the only champions of talking instead of shooting. Indeed, there can be little doubt that in the final American consent to a summit conference, this effect on world public opinion played a very important role.

SOVIET GOALS

The West's unavoidable agreement to a summit conference may well constitute a bigger portion of the immediate Soviet goals than has generally been appreciated. It is quite possible that the Soviets were more eager to extract from the West an agreement to talk than actually to have the talks take place. Applying for a cessation of the cold war is by no means identical with seeking to solve the outstanding international issues at this time.

At a summit conference the Soviets do not intend nor expect to promote or gain approval for any expansionist goals. If anything, as soon as any border or sphere of influence should be touched on, they would automatically be put on the defensive. Under the circumstances the best Soviet prescription for the present, is the preservation of the international status quo while bringing about a relaxation of international tensions which would allow them to concentrate even more on their internal development.

The Soviets do not seek at this time to settle the big controversies between East and West, but they do seek the West's consent not to solve those issues at this time.

At least in part the Soviets have already achieved their principal goal. This was brought about by the West's mere agreeing to a summit conference. This agreement has changed the mood of public opinion to the extent that a resumption of the kind of full scale cold war conducted for years would be extremely difficult for Western governments to undertake.

Of course the Soviets seek more than that. The West's mere agreement to talk is not going to relieve their overburdened defense budget. But again they do not believe they are in a position of having to make substantial concessions in order to extract a relaxation of Western defense schemes. They know the West does not have much choice in the matter.

The Soviets are acutely aware of the crisis NATO is undergoing. They know NATO will not be saved through anyone's inspiration or leadership. Military technological development itself seems to be deciding NATO's fate. All the Soviets may wish is to gain enough time for the disintegrating factors to effectively eat away at the Atlantic Alliance. Time itself will achieve for them what otherwise could be bargained for only at a prohibitive price.

The same applies to their objective of establishing a demilitarized zone in Europe. Whichever shape such demilitarization should take, whether it be a non-nuclear zone or outright political neutralization, it is unthinkable that the West would voluntarily agree to it. If the West is nevertheless willing to discuss it, it would not be due to a readiness to make concessions but much rather because the development of intercontinental ballistic warfare has rendered its international military arrangements obsolete. Since this is so, why should the Soviets offer a price for something they see time itself bringing to them on a silver platter? All they need to do is wait.

This paramount importance of time contributed to the determined Soviet drive for a cessation of the cold war. They were seriously concerned lest the West, witnessing the dwindling away of its military strategy epitomized in NATO, might desperately resort to action before the process of disintegration completes itself.

The world is not yet at the stage of total strategic reliance on ballistic warfare. But we are in the process of entering that stage. We are entering it with each ballistic missile produced, with each missile-carrying submarine launched. Once the transformation is completed, there will be no tactical buffer zones and no buffer peoples between the United States and the Soviet Union. Willingly or not, for all decisive considerations Europe will be neutralized. For the United States, which for the last decade has relied on its partners to absorb and return blows in a future war, the new development is a shock. It may truly and sincerely realize that there is no alternative to peace.

How rapidly we are entering that stage is indicated not only by the withdrawal of our land forces from Iceland, but even more so by *President Eisenhower's consent* to evacuate American air and naval bases in Morocco before the end of 1963. Recent American insistence on Europe's greater participation in the financing of international defense schemes is a prelude to unavoidable reductions of American forces in Europe and all diplomatic assurances to the contrary are necessarily time limited.

In order to gain time the Soviets are ready not only to talk but also, if need be, to keep silent. Khrushchev's visit to the U.S.A. was in this respect a great achievement. No actual talking, in the sense of diplomatic negotiations, took place, but time was gained for NATO to disintegrate a bit more. As long as the immediate danger of an international military flare-up can be averted, the Soviets might well be satisfied if the summit meeting should be postponed time and again. But even when the summit conference finally takes place, we can be certain the Soviets will bargain for nothing with more determination than the time for Western military schemes to corrode.

The development in military technology is bringing about a concentration of the risks of warfare on the principal participants. This heralds a period of much greater caution on their part. When man's optimism in matters as fateful as war and peace can rely on factors beyond the control of political leaders, it will be immensely more comforting than having nothing to trust but their intentions . . . .

Our Two-Party System...

(Continued from page 12)

other aspects of public life and concern and to the belief in America's mission among nations to spread and uphold these principles. While this definition does not pretend to exhaust the American Ideology, it suffices even in its incompleteness for the identification of an ideological personality in American life.

It would require separate treatment to weigh the merits of an elite democracy like Plato's as opposed to a populist democracy. Perhaps in the final analysis this would prove less important than appears on the surface. The way a society is organized might be less important than the aims for which the emerging organization is employed.

If our feeling of superiority to Communism had to rely on nothing but the prevailing two-party system, we would be claiming laurels foolishly. Ours is as much a monolithic society as the societies we criticize and oppose. Real liberty is served neither by the Communist oligarchy nor by the election strategists of party machineries. The real test of society's relationship with the individual lies in providing the best conditions obtainable for the development of his body and mind. Neither may be compromised for the sake of the other. No prison stops being a prison just because its inmates are well fed. And, doctrines which provide high sounding slogans and principles but turn society into an ascetic one, are no substitutes for what men have an inherent right to expect from life.

To the Reform of the Educational System

(Continued from page 2)

subsides into silence, as if he felt remorse for having spoken the truth."[2]

The subtle devices of *"democratic"* action often control thoughts more effectively than the blunt instruments of totalitarian coercion. *"The authority of a king is physical and controls the actions of men without subduing their will. But the majority possesses a power that is physical and moral at the same time, which acts upon the will as much as upon the actions and represses not only all contest, but all controversy."*[3]

One way of imposing conformity is by maintaining concentration camps. There is another way—by turning conformity into a virtue. In the first case, the victims are led with bayonets. In the second case, they line up *"voluntarily"* before the gates of the mental slaughter house. *"Fetters and headsmen were the coarse instruments that tyranny formerly employed; but the civilization of our age has perfected despotism itself, though it seemed to have nothing to learn. Monarchs had, so to speak, materialized oppression; the democratic republics of the present day have rendered it as entirely an affair of the mind as the will which it is intended to coerce. Under the absolute sway of one man the body was attacked in order to subdue the soul; but the soul escaped the blows which were directed against it and rose proudly superior. Such is not the course adopted by tyranny in democratic republics; there the body is left free, and the soul is enslaved."*[4]

These digressions were necessary to make us clearly realize what assignment we are going to put upon the American school of tomorrow. Is it to train competent workers and professionals? Is it also to make them know something about literature, music, art, and a bit of public affairs? Or is it going to train minds to be *"unshackled from ignorance, from dependence on the opinions of others, and from fear of disagreeable facts?"*[5]

When these questions are posed in generalities, the choice seems simple enough. Of course we all want a free mind, so we have learned to state. But are we also ready to accept the practical consequences of this choice? Or is it that while we theoretically subscribe to independence of thought, at the same time we conceive of the dissenter as a *"trouble maker"*, we have an exact prescription dividing views into *"American"* and *"un-American"*, and

(Continued on page 16)

From READERS LETTERS

"WHAT CAN I DO?"

. . . What we need is *many* voices such as yours to awaken us to action on so many of these issues. I find myself in agreement all along the line, but then I say: What can *I* do about it? There never seems to be any direct action one can take. . . .

Mrs. J. S.

Charleston, S. C.

(See reply to the above question on page 3)

* * *

THE COMMIES HAVE WON . . .

You don't have to worry. McCarthy and all the others who tried to expose the Commy conspiracy were all broken. You seem interested in proving nothing except that the U. S. A. is always wrong.

Recommended for sample copy: J. Edgar Hoover. You know where to find him.

S. C. Wentworth

Bronxville, N. Y.

Editor's Note: *Mr. Hoover was sent a sample copy of* The Minority of One *the same time Mr. Wentworth was.*

* * *

A NEEDED PUBLICATION

Your publication is so very needed—I salute you for your courage.

Admiringly yours,
Gladys Rockmore Davis

New York, N. Y.

* * *

A COPY FOR A FLAG WAVER

. . . May I have another copy of your first issue? I gave mine away to a good flag waver, and if the following issues are as good as your first I wish to maintain a complete file. Best of luck to you. You deserve it.

Stanley B. Altman

Albany, N. Y.

* * *

TYPICAL LETTER WRITTEN TO RETAIN A CARBON COPY JUST IN CASE . . .

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

I have received your publication Volume No. 1, of December 1959. It appears that I am on your mailing list.

As I neither subscribed to nor requested that I receive this publication, I do not feel it necessary for you to continue sending it to me.

Yours truly,
Wiley T. Buchanan, Jr.
Chief of Protocol

BUT NOT EVERYBODY IS AFRAID TO READ.

UNITED STATES SENATE

I read your issue Volume I, Number 1 of The Minority of One. It was very interesting.

Sincerely yours,
Nicholas N. Kittrie,
Special Counsel, Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly

Washington

* * *

WISHES TO KNOW THE CONTRIBUTORS(?)

I enjoyed The Minority of One very much. It is very thought provoking. Please, send a sample copy of your wonderful magazine to . . . I would appreciate if the authors of the articles were identified.

George Brosi

Oak Ridge, Tenn.

Editor's Note: *"They" is (sic!) identified . . .*

* * *

PROTESTS OUR STAND ON MALCOLM WHITE

. . . I happen to be the attorney for Malcolm R. White. . . . It would have been relevant to disclose to your limited audience that the cable factory was already organized by the AFL-CIO and that Dugan was a thug with a long criminal record who was working for a union whose officers were engaged in extortion and who was trying to get the workers to desert a legitimate union and sign up with a racketeer infested union. . . .

David Targ

New York, N. Y.

Editor's Note: *We cannot accept the implication that one may escape punishment for killing a man if the victim was a thug, had a criminal record and worked for a corrupt organization; we hope this implication was not intended by Mr. Targ.*

* * *

REGRETS HITLER'S DEFEAT

Yes, December 7, 1941, was a day of infamy as President F. D. Roosevelt proclaimed. But it was the infamy of Roosevelt and his clique who deliberately invited Pearl Harbor disaster in order to assure public support of their war aims. It was these same men who took communist Russia off Germany's back and put it on our own and we will continue paying for it the rest of our lives!

R. Blagden

East Hampton, Conn.

---

[2] *Democracy in America,* by Alexis De Tocqueville, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1956, Vol. I, p. 264.

[3] Ibid., Vol. I, p. 263.

[4] Ibid., Vol. I, p. 264.

[5] *Education and Freedom,* by H. G. Rickover, E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1959, p. 155.

Of What I Am Ashamed:

- **OF the one year jail sentence against Dr. Willard Uphaus, 69,** of New Haven, Conn., *"Christian pacifist"* and prominent Methodist layman, for refusing to turn over the 1953-54 guest-list of a world fellowship summer camp to New Haven Attorney General who contends that some of the guests were Communists.

- **OF the nine generals and nine admirals, including Gen. Nathan F.** Twining, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who were having themselves entertained at a plush Bahama Islands resort at the $18,000 *"business"* expense of the Martin Company—a major defense contractor.

- **OF the U. S. Attorney's office for** taking seven years to finally concede it had no leg to stand on in prosecuting Earl Browder, one-time leader of American Communists, on the charge of perjury in connection with his wife's application for citizenship in 1944.

- **OF the Alexandria Housing Authority** which has been persistently persecuting the family of a 14-year-old unwed mother. After an unsuccessful campaign to evict the family from a public housing project on the ground of *"illegitimacy"*, the Authority finally obtained an eviction order from the Circuit Court on the ground the family had been *"committing a nuisance"*.

- **OF the State Department's refusal** to issue a passport to Victor Perlo, former Government economist, because he had once been named a member of Communist organizations of many years ago by the professional confessor, Elizabeth Bentley.

- **OF the Virginia Corporation Commission** for ordering the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to make its membership lists available to the Commission's agents. More harassment for the members of the NAACP?

- **OF the State Department's refusal** to validate the passport of former federal judge Albert Levitt of Hancock, N. H., for travel in Hungary to continue his study of the case of Cardinal Midzenty. Whether this refusal is related to the judge's contention that the State Department *"does not want to have Cardinal Midzenty leave the American legation in Hungary, but would rather have the situation remain as it is—under the pretense that the Cardinal is in danger, and so maintain a cause of grievance against the Soviet Union"* is anyone's guess.

- **OF Brig. General Ariel W. Nielsen's by now rescinded directive** to his 21st Air Division establishing a system of total around-the-clock surveillance on airmen and leaving no aspect of their lives private.

- **OF the Defense Department's and the F. B. I.'s** use of pocket-size, secret tap devices to record conversations of unsuspecting people, as revealed by the Senate Constitutional Rights Committee. Senator Thomas C. Hennings, D., Mo., called the miniature recording gadgets *"cunning little devices"*.

- **OF the motion picture industry's blacklisting** of screen writer Louis Pollock, whose identity was mistaken for a Louis Pollack, a store owner who five years ago exercised his constitutional right of invoking the Fifth Amendment before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

- **OF the Attorney General's "victory"** in having 20 reputed racketeers convicted for a *"conspiratorial"* meeting at Apalachin, N. Y. two years ago, without his or anyone else's knowing what the convicted persons had this time made themselves guilty of.

- **OF the 20 U. S. Senators who have** been using their office of public trust for putting their kin on the Government's payroll.

To the Reform of the Educational System

(*Continued from page 15*)

we refer any personal originality to the conforming knife of psychiatric surgery?

Often, yesterday's heroes become today's scapegoats (and vice versa). I wholeheartedly support the criticism lately voiced against John Dewey's so called progressive education, although the days are not far behind when my anti-Deweyism accounted for many a lost friendship. However, making Dewey the scapegoat for all wrongs in American education, as Adm. Rickover and others have done, reflects a dilettantism which cannot produce a constructive, new approach. One must remember that Dewey was not the creator of a new reality, but merely its symptom, spokesman, herald, and theoretician. Dewey's ideas were not foreign to the American public. It was precisely because he introduced into education theories which were natural consequences of the American sense of values and mental inclinations that his victory was so sweeping. Our present job is not only to do away with Dewey's entertaining escapism, but—and this is even more important—to illuminate the broader failings on which his educational escapism has been feeding.

With Adm. Rickover we believe that *"Bombarded as all of us are, all day long, by subtle sloganeers seeking to convert us to their views, we sorely need minds that have been sharpened by hard intellectual work. We must know how to dig up our own facts—how to discover truth for ourselves. The person who has learned to trust only proven facts, who knows how to find and recognize truth, and who has been trained to decide all issues on the basis of truth and reason—he and he alone is a free man."*[6]

To achieve even the beginnings of this will surely require far reaching reforms in the American educational system. But they alone will not suffice. The educational reform must be parallelled by reforms in many other fields, including all media of communication, to mention the field most directly related to the national educational system.

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[6] Ibid., p. 155.

IN THE FEBRUARY ISSUE OF THE MINORITY OF ONE:

The Image of a President: The Constitutional Monarch . . . Where Does the Law End? . . . The Bigot . . . Patterns in American History: The "Disloyal" Opposition . . . The Perverters of Free Enterprise . . . The Policy of Leisure Administration . . . Talent Opportunity . . . and other articles and features.

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THE MINORITY OF ONE

Independent Monthly Publication, Dedicated to the Elimination of All Thought Restrictions Except for the Truth

"There was truth and there was untruth, and if you clung to the truth even against the whole world, you were not mad." — GEORGE ORWELL

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December, 1959

The Summit and the Atlantic Alliance

Whether or not the already held and the forthcoming Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks will end in the cessation of the cold war, it is certain that we have entered an era in which the importance of international coalitions is rapidly diminishing. Eventually, this may result in the dissolvement of the two existing international military alliances.

Ever since the Suez crisis in 1956, the international situation is shaped more by the direct Soviet-American encounter than by that of the separately consolidated policies of two groups of nations. While on the surface this does not introduce a distinguishable change, until 1956 the Soviets and the United States were in the position of spokesmen for two respective alliances. Now, each of them is increasingly speaking for herself.

This is the result of surprising developments in military technology. It is a reflection of the diminution of the military dependence of the two main powers on their respective allies.

The period of adjustment to the new reality is a painful one. Political concepts which became traditional are subjected to critical analysis and yesterday's tabus are still adhered to but in public statements only. Among the Western powers, frictions are taking place which only a few years ago would have been unthinkable.

Into this category fall such events as the contradictory positions taken by the United States on the one hand and by Great Britain and France on the other hand in the Suez crisis, the more recent failing cooperation between NATO and France, President de Gaulle's and Chancellor Adenauer's dissenting position on a summit conference, the growing American sentiment against foreign aid, and the increasing American concern with the unfavorable balance of payments of the U.S.A. All these important problems would have been dealt with

(Continued on page 6)

THE MINORITY OF ONE...

Gutenberg's invention of modern printing gave mankind not only a revolutionary means for exchanging ideas but also a powerful new weapon for manipulating man's mind.

Of all of man's rights and liberties the most precious one is freedom of thought. It is the quintessence of freedom. As George Orwell put it: "Freedom is the freedom to say that two plus two make four. If that is granted, all else follows."

Of all oppressions the oppression of thought operates through the subtlest channels. It is incomparably less conspicuous than starvation, denial of political rights, or corporal abuse. Like a tasteless poison, it attacks the victim without warning.

One particular form of thought oppression is the most degrading of human experiences; its victims are masses of volunteers, mentally anaesthetized by orthodoxy and conformity. Again to quote Orwell: "Orthodoxy means not thinking—not needing to think. Orthodoxy is unconsciousness." Orthodoxy is mental suicide.

THE MINORITY OF ONE will tear away at the invisible chains of the mind. It will exercise the right of saying that two plus two make four, paying no heed to political taboos.

We believe that the ultimate test of a civilization's worthiness and ability to survive lies in the quality of the individuals it produces. Hurrah-patriotism, flag waving, and blind, nationalistic self-contentment are no substitutes. In the fierce international competition of our era, they will prove not only futile, but also detrimental to our society. If we are to be both worthy and able to survive the Communist challenge, we must be prepared to make a national virtue of self-criticism.

Self-criticism is not inimical to patriotism. On the contrary, it is an indispensable ingredient of genuine concern and devotion to one's society. Otherwise, only the stupid could be patriotic . . .

To retain its independence, THE MINORITY OF ONE will not be open to commercial advertising. Its success will depend entirely on the support of its readers. We trust that those who welcome truly free discussion will not only themselves become subscribers, but also help us to reach their friends.

McCarthyism During and After McCarthy

Richard H. Rovere's best selling book "Senator Joe McCarthy"[1] occasions an analysis of problems the importance of which far exceeds present day psychological reflections about a man who lived and died and whose name was Joseph McCarthy. Referring to a colleague's expressed hope that his book *"will throw some light on why American society appeared so vulnerable to an adventurer armed mainly (so it seems) by the timidity of his victims"*, Rovere admits that *"This book, I fear, throws little light of the sort he asks . . .*[2]*"*. Indeed, what seems to have inspired the book was the author's overwhelming fascination, though negative in nature, with McCarthy's personality.

This is unfortunate because, while there is little justification for an unrevealing reiteration of the McCarthy biography anno 1959, the kinship between the great demagogue's personality and the *"dark places of the American mind"*[3] is the only lasting aspect of McCarthyism which deserves continued illumination. While Rovere is aware of this aspect[4], he resolutely refuses to go into it. It was this refusal which not only decisively distracted from the present day relevance of Rovere's book, but also made the author see McCarthy in a distorting, magnifying mirror.

If McCarthyism was no more than the man McCarthy and it was only his person who *"held two Presidents captive, . . . had enormous impact on American foreign policy . . . (bearing) heavily on the course of world history, and American diplomacy might bear a different aspect today if McCarthy had never lived"*[5], then there can be little surprise that the author conceives of his subject as being a fascinating colossus.

---

[1] Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1959

[2] *Senator Joe McCarthy*, p. 261

[3] Ibidem, p. 3

[4] *"The fault, we must surely know, was always in ourselves, but he*—McCarthy—*was close to being a genius in bringing it out"*—Ibid., p. 267

[5] Ibid., p. 5

(Continued on page 10)

Propaganda Through News-Slanting

Several weeks ago a federal grand jury in Washington, D. C. indicted three former radio officials on charges of accepting a $750,000 payoff from the Dominican Republic for agreeing to broadcast political propaganda as news. They were charged with failure to register their network as an agent of a foreign government. What was unsatisfactory about it was the fact that no other charges, such as accepting bribery, were pressed. Not being a lawyer, I do not know whether additional charges could have been made. If, however, the law provided no means of prosecuting except failure to register as a foreign agent, Congress would be wise to fill a serious gap in our statutes.

It seems to me that premeditated news-slanting is a criminally immoral act whether it is paid for by a foreign power or anyone else. Otherwise, a reporter or a newscaster, bribed into spreading propaganda in the disguise of bona fide news items, is not guilty of any crime as long as the bribe did not come from a foreign government.

This issue is so delicate, and the danger of instituting some form of censorship is so inherent in it, that airtight legislation may not be sought. Furthermore, news-slanting is not always prompted by bribery. Often, it is motivated by a false concept of patriotic duty. The real question is whether a reporter may consciously color, slant, distort, suppress, or fabricate news in order to lead the public towards what he believes to be a desirable conclusion. The commentator who does not pretend to submit objective fact has much more license in this respect. When, however, news as such contains deliberate misrepresentation, such a fraud is comparable with the fraud committed by a dishonest salesman.

And yet, fraudulent reporting, even if not bought by a particular lobby, is the general practice rather than the exception. The professional mind-manipulators all too often count on the naivete of the public. *"Unfortunately correct knowledge and sound principles are not enough. An unexciting truth may be eclipsed by a thrilling falsehood. A skillful appeal to passion is often too strong for the best of good resolutions."* *

The spirit of the cold war is most conducive to political news-slanting. The reporter's efficiency is hardly tested by rational criteria of honest reporting. Rather, his profession becomes an art of story making. The closer he comes to satisfying and flaring up the hatred of the enemy, the more he is responding to popular tastes. As long as he satisfies his readers emotionally and politically, his intellectual integrity will not be questioned. Popularity is the reward a biased and emotional public is always ready to grant to the carriers of its slogans and banners.

The few reporters who still draw a distinct line between propaganda and news reporting grow, under the circumstances, to the stature of literary heroes. So rare and ungratifying does their quality become, that each is worthy of the Pulitzer prize.

THE EDITORS OF FACTS

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* From Aldous Huxley's recent series of articles *Tyranny over the Mind.*

(Continued on page 8)

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To The Reform of The Educational System

1. THE SCOPE OF THE REFORM[1]

Ever since Sputnik shocked the American public out of complacency, our educational system has found itself under increasing criticism. Much analysis and experimentation has been going on on the local, the state and the federal level. Perhaps the most extensive study was undertaken by the Presidential Science Advisory Committee. The report of that committee was released, last May 23rd, in a prestige enhancing manner. Mr. Eisenhower's warm endorsement was professedly intended to bring it to the attention of the entire nation. Typically however, that document could not successfully compete with the headline prominence of crime accounts and with *"history"* as shaped on the previous day by the Nats, Yanks and Orioles.

As commendable as the recommendations of the Committee for a jacking up of the American educational system may be, it would be naive to regard them as a miracle cure. Indeed, one must doubt whether reforms of our classrooms and curricula and increases in educational budgets, as overdue as they are, would suffice to cause that *"Americans should attach greater value to intellectual excellence."* [2]

A nation's schools are not confined to curricula, classrooms, and school buildings. Its teachers are not only the ones occupationally so defined. Its students are not only the children behind school desks. A nation's education is derived from the totality of its experience. In a broad sense, its factories and stores, its offices, bars, and theaters, its sports stadiums, farms, and newspapers, its legal statutes and political institutions, its social and economic relationships—they all are the nation's schools and curricula. No nation can have an educational system much better than its total environment and experience.

When an educational system is found to be basically wrong, it is not just an isolated problem, but symptomatic of more than what transpires within the classroom. To treat it as an isolated problem would be merely patching a torn suit. The patch would cover the hole, but it would not raise the quality of the worn out garment.

Neither the purpose nor the scope of our soul searching is satisfactory.

The purpose is not satisfactory because it is too narrowly defined. It is motivated by a limited, specific cause. It is an expedient. The aim of education may not be limited to serve a specific cause. Education is a purpose in itself. Nothing may motivate it but a relentless search for truths. When it serves other, specific goals—however commendable they may be—it ceases to be education, and instead becomes indoctrination.

Sputnik did not inspire within us a sudden burning search for truths. It rather made us aware that scientific pursuit offers decisive assets for winning the international competition. Indicative of this is Admiral H. G. Rickover's best selling book *"Education and Freedom"*. *"If we are to hold the Soviets at bay"*, says Rickover, *"and still remain a free democracy we must have citizens who are, every one of them, better human beings as well as more competent workers in their field."* [3] This sounds quite progressive except that it contains educational apologetics. Education does not

---

[1] A second installment of this article will follow in the January issue of *The Minority of One.*

[2] From the President's accompanying release on the report of the Science Advisory Committee.

[3] *Education and Freedom,* by H. G. Rickover, E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1959, p. 244

(Continued on page 4)

WITH A GRAIN OF SALT

LES MISÉRABLES

The Culture We Buy From the Grocer

To see a repenting sinner is always a heart breaking, sentimental sight. No matter how merciless a god, or an individual, something is bound to melt in his heart as he watches the inward torment of one who atones. However, how would you react were you ever to find out that the atoning sinner was cynically putting on a show to evoke your sympathy, as a part of his new scheme of sinning against you? Wouldn't you be ready to tear him to pieces? I bet, you would!

Maybe I am a notorious sceptic, but to me a television network executive and tears do not settle with each other and such a sight reaches the vision compartment of my brain with the reflection of a crocodile. Maybe I am making myself guilty of the sin of not forgiving, but when I hear network men talk about their duty to police themselves, my notion is to call up the nearest police precinct and urgently beg for protection. Indeed, I happen to be such an hysterical individual that I would crawl under my bed and never stick my nose out for an airing, were the policing of Sing-Sing ever to be passed on to its residents (just imagine, this could be done for the sake of democracy and local self-determination!).

Not that I do not believe the momentary sincerity of the MEA CULPA outcries of network executives. But, the way I am, I could not suppress my suspicion even at the sight of a "professional" pick-pocket meting out a spanking to his hand which has been caught in my pocket. Especially, my hysteria would not let go of me were I to see the man's second hand wander in the direction of my other pocket. And again, I do not necessarily doubt the sincerity of the spanking the first hand was receiving.

But, poor fellow, all he has trained himself to be is a thief, there is nothing else in the world he could or would like to be. And he has to make a living. He has to. This is a compulsion. Now, since stealing is the only way he knows for making a living, stealing becomes his compulsion, from which he cannot abstain in spite of repenting moods.

Each calling and vocation has its own frustrations. Neither a doctor nor a lawyer work only at times of complete contentment and self-satisfaction. They learn to swallow disappointments, self-doubt, and heartaches and to go on with their professional work. So does everyone else, even if he happens to be the president of a television network. His job is bigger than his moods and sudden attacks of nostalgic sincerity. The mood will pass, but the job will be right there, demanding full attention and continuation.

The basic problem is that most of this nation's cultural and entertainment life is in hands, whose first loyalty is not to culture and entertainment, but to the sacrosanct art of merchandising. As long as our grocer is called upon to determine our cultural life and entertainment, he is going to, he has to, he cannot help but appear in our living room, even if dressed for the occasion, with a slight odor of pickles, herring, and sauerkraut. And the electrician, hired to serve as the interior decorator of your home, is bound to "beautify" it with an abundance of electric switches. If his brother happens to own a bathroom equipment store, you may even wind up with an extra pissoir in your living room ("I am a slave of your convenience, Sir").

If this talk of mine offends anyone's sensitive taste, I urgently recommend he re-inspects his living room for a hidden package of sauerkraut, or a hidden toilet bowl left there by the grocer or appliance salesman on his last visit on the TV screen. (Did you ever see the motion picture in which Paul Muni portrayed Prof. Ehrlich? Remember the shocked Victorian lady who stormed out from the room after Prof. Ehrlich told her he was working on identifying the bacillus of syphilis? I kind of guess that a rather interesting scene—listen, Alfred Hitchcock!—was left out of that motion picture. In it we would have seen the indignant lady returning home, falling into the consoling embraces of her husband and immediately becoming a potential living laboratory for Prof. Ehrlich's scientific pursuit.)

So, coming back to our subject, we are not going to discriminate between the screws and bolts of the machine; to us the sponsors, the networks, the producers, and the contestants of the rigged quiz programs are all parts of a system in which notoriety is inherent. For all we know, their more-than-pious confessions might have been just another stage production—the coöperative work of ghost writers, dramatical coaches, legal and public relations advisors. Possibly it was intended to appease the boiling wrath of the public, in order to avert a long overdue BASIC house cleaning.

Television has provided not only a vehicle for commercial misrepresentation, but also has become inimical to real culture and good entertainment. Not less scandalous than the rigged quiz programs are the general programming policies of the networks. They deliberately promote inferior substitutes for culture and the cheapest in entertainment, while virtually conducting a holy war against excellence. Under the circumstances, mediocrity has become our concept of excellence. That explains the phenomenon that such programs as the now defunct Studio One and the still lingering on Playhouse 90 came to be known as the sublime in drama. Indeed, they are sublime, but only when held against the background of trash which was forced upon us as our daily diet. The debasement of our tastes was prompted by this sort of cultural inflation even more than by the omnipresent cliche of pies thrown into someone's face.

As for the future, no half measures, no reprimands of one party or the other, nor their promises to police themselves, will do. If we are to introduce honesty into television, the reform must begin at the very foundations; a system must be introduced, in which tools of culture and entertainment will not be used for merchandising but for culture and entertainment.

To devise such a sound system would be, theoretically, the easiest task in the world. Indeed, all logic and truth would be behind so intended reforms. Still, to expect the only reasonable, just, and warranted reform is all too naive. Because the business concession on the cultural life and entertainment of this nation is in the hands of merchandisers who are powerful enough to defeat reason, justice, and real patriotism. The dissatisfied stand for the most righteous case and yet their case is hopeless. Absolutely hopeless.

LOOK WHO IS TALKING

The sad spectacle of the quiz program investigations provided a real picnic for the press. That was their hour to celebrate. This was the epitome of what the Germans call SCHADENFREUDE. The long hated competitor for commercial advertising could finally be ridden on like a blind horse. Not that the horse did not deserve to be ridden on. But, look who is doing the riding! Every literary liar, who places his own brain children in the orphanage of "authoritative sources"; every editor who, like the dishonest druggist, peddles aqua destilata as a mind-curing drug, who dilutes the healing medicine of information with a three to one ratio of filth, who markets Kindergarten comic strips for adults, lets perverted crime emphasis chase world shaking events from the headlines of front pages, or photographs half naked women with the pretext of "this is pornography, look at it—this shouldn't be seen!"; every prostituting publisher whose mind lies for sale on the counter for every advertiser to be picked up—this is the "society of the innocent", whose ethical and professional standards were suddenly offended by the malpractices of the television competitor! Even among prostitutes it is not unusual that one of their number should be singled out for gossip and bad "reputation".

The press is supposed to be a bridge between the minds of men. But the sole purpose for which most of our newspaper publishers stay in business is business.

The American press is the most conceited and aggressive factor in the public life of America. It attempts to set itself up as an additional branch of government, and as the supreme branch at that. They appoint themselves the watchdogs over the courts, the legislature, and the executive branch. The truth is that most of our newspapers are guilty of the same fraud as the one perpetrated over the air waves. There, the grocer sets himself up as the nation's Ministry of Culture and Education, while in the Fourth Estate, word peddlers usurp the position of independent judges and genuine educators.

Freedom of press and broadcasting is not achieved by the mere absence of direct governmental censorship. What our press and networks are totally deprived of, and what they desperately need, is freedom from the absolute control of business. Till this will be established, it is folly to claim that our public media of communication are free.

SOKOLSKY'S NOSTALGIA

> *"Let us no longer pray that America may become an asylum to all nations."*
>
> —From a letter by W. S. Shaw, secretary and nephew of President John Adams, to the First Lady, Abigail Adams.[1]

Many Americans are proud of their spiritual inheritance. They justly boast of their country as having provided the biggest refuge in history for the hunted of other nations. They are proud, and for good reasons, of the American Constitution, which like no other document in history undertook to guarantee civil liberties. They are proud of the Bill of Rights, which in the greatness of its simplicity permeated man's consciousness and aspirations beyond the American continent. They look at the Statue of Liberty as the enduring, majestic Lady whose honor and integrity they are ready to preserve and to defend.

This is legitimate pride.

This is a pride which does not only flatter man's self-esteem, but also serves as a guide into the future. It is a constructive, educating pride, and no one should be deprived of it.

Some people, however, are proud of more questionable events of the past, in which their forefathers participated. Human nature being as irrational as it is, it would not be surprising were we to run into a man who would proudly claim ancestry of a terror-spreading Western gun fighter. A more literate version of such snobbery found expression in a columnist's nostalgic reference to generations past when *"it was quite dangerous to say that this country was no good, that some other country was superior. Aliens who spoke ill of the United States were told to go back where they came from."* Not only does the columnist nostalgically refer to those days of old glory but his heart is broken, because *"times do change and we have lived through years of intensive propaganda for internationalism . . ."*.

We, surely, would like to believe the gentleman's assurance that times have changed so radically and that intolerance is no longer with us. Were it so however, we would not join his mourning for treasures lost. Much rather, we would welcome the change and celebrate.

No, this was not a quote from Westbrook Pegler. The nostalgic mourner is no other than the self-styled, made-to-order and meant-for-increased-circulation conservative, super-patriot, chief-examiner-of-everyone's-loyalty, Mr. America himself—George E. Sokolsky.

Having identified the author of the mourner's Kaddish, I may as well proceed with my Ode to Sokolsky. There is no further danger to be feared; should this piece come to his attention, in all probability he would not continue reading it beyond the preceding sentence. Instead, he would be devoting his time to investigating my personal background, convictions, loyalty, and what not, proudly continuing the great tradition of his departed master and hero, Joe McCarthy. Since Sokolsky only recently professed to have saved America from hydrogen holocaust through such a personal inquisition against another writer who differed with him, I, being of foreign stock, could find myself even more easily out-Americaned by him. But, there is nothing like taking chances . . .

The truth of the matter is that Mr. Sokolsky (he was once terribly offended by a correspondent who dared to refer to him by his first name) is not telling a lie when he refers to days in which his spiritual forefathers ostracized everyone who dared to think for himself and exercise the right of free speech. About one such wave of dark inquisition and witch hunting he knows first hand, having contributed to it at the side of his great teacher from Wisconsin. But Sokolsky's spiritual ancestry, which he does not fail to take pride in, dates back to the beginnings of the Republic. Already in 1798, another American journalist coined the slogan: *"He that is not for us, is against us."* Indeed, there can be little doubt that George Sokolsky as a columnist would fit much better into the columns of the quoted Federalist *Gazette of the United States* than he settles with the spirit of a democratic, free press. I am even ready to bet that were Sokolsky to have lived in those days, he would have beaten still another American commentator to the outcry: *"May the delirium of Democracy never revisit America."*[2] However, there is no reason to suppose that McSokolsky would also support still another spiritual colleague's demand for *"one and but one party in the United States."*[3] Joe Sokolsky is not in favor of one party. All he wants is one thought, the Sokolsky thought, and no dissensions, please . . .

Oh, had he only lived in those days! His writing would not be in vain as it so often is in these corrupt, *"changed"* days of *"internationalism"*. The self-admittedly despised intellectuals of our times would not sneer at his power to smear. And wouldn't he have qualified to serve as a Jim Hagerty to President John Adams?! How many additional ideas could he have planted in the Federalist President's mind for wiping out opposition, closing down uncooperative newspapers, throwing out foreigners (*"alien enemies"*—don't you like this term, Mr. Sokolsky?), and saving and re-saving America a million times. If he only had lived in those days, perhaps America would even have survived and still be around in 1959!

But George Sokolsky did not have a chance.

He is an anachronism.

He could not contribute to America in those fateful days by making certain that no future generation would ever discontinue the spirit of John Adams.

And all this loss to history due to a trivial genealogical incident: at the time, George Sokolsky's grandpa, or great-grandpa, had been keeping company with my own grandpa, or great-grandpa, on a tailor's bench in a little remote hamlet of Russia or Poland.

Perhaps, they even attended Heder together . . .

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[1] All quotes in this article, excepting the ones from a recent syndicated column, were taken from *Freedom's Fetters* by James Morton Smith, Cornell University Press, 1956.

[2] *Claypoole's American Advertiser*, Philadelphia, May 4, 1798.

[3] *Daily Advertiser*, New York, July 10, 1798.

To the Reform of the Educational System

(Continued from page 2)

come *"to hold the Soviets at bay"*. This may well be an important, but strictly incidental, advantage. Education is self-justified. It is not merchandise which is bought for its attractive or re-usable wrapping.

I argue this point, because I seriously doubt whether we can possibly achieve educational excellence, if its PURPOSE is to lick the Russians, or build better homes, or have better cars, or whatever else. But, if we will desire education for its own sake, because it satisfies a man's craving to know, then we will be better human beings, more immune to foreign abuse and challenge, build better cars and homes, and count a million other blessings.

The scope of our self-criticism is not wide enough, because we are attempting to explain what is wrong with our students only by what transpires in its classrooms.

Even if we should train the best of teachers, and print the finest of textbooks, and follow a perfect scholastic curriculum, the situation would not change basically. How can we, for instance, develop in our young people an uncompromising search for truths, when they are perpetually exposed to the big industry of the lie—commercial advertising? Or, is there no link between a compelling search for truths and knowing that a soft drink makes you sociable, a laxative makes you smile, and a cigarette makes you think for yourself?

PLATO SPEAKS . . . FROM A REFRIGERATOR

Every so often one comes across some political declaration in our press sponsored by a business enterprise. Except for the small print, or a single line across the page, there is no hint as to the commercial nature of the announcement. A similar technique is used at times in radio and television commercials. Often, a commercial advertisement contains a reprinted newspaper article which, having nothing to do with the advertiser's product or business, editorializes on some domestic or international issue.

That such a situation should be tolerated is an insult to the intelligence of the American public. To the best of my knowledge, there is no other country where this could occur.

Whatever the purpose and motivation of one who stays in business, it would be laughable to ascribe them to a Platonic search for public philosophies. While staying in business creates a man's interest in a public milieu favorable to his profits, the link between a lobby of vested interests and a political party is usually indirect and covert. A businessman, who would run his enterprise for no other purpose than *pro publico bono,* would be a poor businessman indeed, while as a politician he would amount to an obvious fake.

Following a psychological principle of salesmanship, our marketing experts do not sell their merchandise but the blessings it is alleged to bestow. They do not sell refrigerators but instead the tasty, tongue wetting, chilled foods preserved in them. They do not sell soft drinks but *"sociability"*. And General Electric does not peddle electric appliances, but *"Progress"* itself.

To me, these ways of steering public opinion are so ridiculous, that each time I listen to a rather lengthy dissertation on public affairs by a General Electric, or any other business announcer, I am greatly entertained. Assuming the role of a professor of political science, the well groomed salesman of the television screen exalts the virtues of one legislation or another, analyzes, *"objectively"*, the differences between systems of government, or, in times of elections, urges me to cast my vote. His terminology does not consist of words like *"buying"*, *"selling"*, and *"price"*, but instead—*"freedom"*, *"liberty"*, *"progress"*, and *"the future of this nation and the world"*.

Yet, my reaction of amusement is wrong. One should be disturbed and concerned rather than entertained. Because the described phenomenon poses a threat to the integrity of political activities.

On September 10th, *The Washington Post* (possibly also other newspapers) carried a full-page announcement swearing us in into making *"no concessions, no appeasement, no 'deals' with Khrushchev"* and warning that unless we heed this advice, America will be in *"the position of becoming his greatest captive nation!"*.

Were this the voice of *The Washington Post,* or of any of its journalistic contributors, one could challenge its political wisdom, but not the right of being uttered. However, the small print of the quoted page reveals that it was sponsored by the *Allen-Bradley Company.* I was about to consult a directory of American schools of political science, when my continued reading of the small print made any research unnecessary. The company was identified as one which *"manufactures quality motor controls and quality electronic components."* (Note: No political essays listed among its products.) So, it was not a school of political science, nor a political party, after all!

I do not know what motivated the producer of electronic components to spend a considerable amount of money to enter the realm of a public political discussion. I could not assert that he was concerned about the prospect of a cold war cessation lest it adversely affects his defense contracts, since I do not know whether or not the Allen-Bradley Company is in the habit of entertaining influential generals . . . Possibly, the political zeal was no more than an exploitation of a central public issue to ingrain the sponsor in the minds of potential customers. But I do know for certain that the Allen-Bradley Company is in existence for other purposes than finding the correct political path for the American nation.

Another eager idealist of sorts is the *International Latex Corporation,* whose latest press contribution* was devoted to no less a problem than the crisis in Algeria. After reading every word of the two articles included in that contribution (one signed by A. N. Spanel, Chairman of the International Latex Corporation), I could not find a single reason for Latex' interest in educating the American public about the Algerian problem. Perhaps the last line, put between quotation marks without identifying the brains which begot the thought, offers a clue. It reads: *"YOU AND EVERY MAN IN BUSINESS ARE THE TRUSTEES OF THIS NATION AND THE WORLD"*. (To me it sounds like a quote from either President Eisenhower, or from any president of some large business corporation.) Is it that the Latex *"World Trustee"* proposes a new kind of a Summit Conference, which would bring him together with the representatives of GM, GE, and a few others to decide the fate of the world? (Mr. A. N. Spanel, do not forget to invite Mr. Krupp from Germany!)

The only direct business link between such political activities and their sponsors, can be found in the presumed Income Tax deduction of the costs involved. No one could argue that advertising is not a legitimate business expense, deductible from Income Tax. However, as contributions to political parties are not deductible, neither should be contributions to political causes under the pretext of commercial advertising. Were this the ruling of the Internal Revenue, it would be interesting to see how many business enterprises would remain faithful to their political "idealism" and continue this practice.

Such an overdue ruling would not only enrich our federal treasury, but also—and this is immensely more important—eliminate a most dubious method of manipulating public opinion.

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* *Washington Post,* November 6, 1959.

How can one teach his children incorruptible honesty when they watch, on TV, fortunes change hands by the mere verdict of chance? How effectively can one introduce them to culture and art, when so much attention is diverted to cheap entertainment and athletics? How can one imbue them with respect for excellence, when all public media of communication glorify mediocrity? How can we raise politically sophisticated citizens, when in our press a few meager world dispatches are buried in filibusters of crime, sports, comic strips, and society pages? How can one hope they will follow current events intelligently, when our national leaders feed them superficial propaganda? How can we promote meaningful democracy, when our election campaigns resemble more an Americanized version of a Persian market than a contest of merits? And how can we promote independence of thought, beyond paying it lip service, when we all are obliged to think alike about God and church?

Can all these and many more educational problems be solved in the classroom? No, they cannot.

The new emphasis upon educational mechanics may well improve our military-scientific posture, but unless it results in a total educational awakening, it will contribute little to the total health of our society. The fact that all facets of society determine its vitality and chance to survive in times of crisis, may be less obvious than the performance of weapons, but it surely is not less real.

The Summit and the Atlantic Alliance *(Continued from page 1)*

differently were it not for the unadmitted but nonetheless real process of disengagement from the Western coalition on the part of the U.S.A.

The ever increasing discords among the Western powers are often interpreted as signs of the weakening of American leadership within the Atlantic Alliance. While this is an undeniable process, it is due to American intentions rather than to default. In the ensuing era of intercontinental ballistic missiles, there will not be much use in leading nations whose cooperation can no longer tip the scales.

IS THE CRISIS OF NATO REAL?

Under the circumstances, talk about the revitalization of NATO and Secretary-General Paul-Henri Spaak's assurance that *"Fortunately NATO is not, as some people think, in a state of crisis. On the contrary, it is flourishing."* [1], cannot dispel doubts which must be realistically faced.

Paul Henri-Spaak's consolation that NATO is lately expanding into the field of political coordination among its members, even if valid, constitutes no substitute for its impaired war-deterring function in strictly military terms. NATO was founded as a force to deter what the West would consider Soviet aggression. Nevertheless, should such aggression take place, NATO was relied upon to assure the West of victory. This and only this remains NATO's test.

From its beginnings, a decade ago, NATO has been in a race with time. The advent of the atomic age in warfare minimized the importance of manpower contributions on the part of the NATO powers. Its importance rather lay in the strategic location of bases in member states. This was most evident in the case of Iceland. Iceland's membership was sought and obtained in spite of the fact that she maintains no military forces. Her participation was important only because of the geographic position of what became the air base at Keflavic and the navy base at Hvalfjorour.

For a striking force NATO had to rely on the Strategic Air Command. It provided bases from which Soviet territory could be reached by SAC's bombers. Bases constituted the very justification of NATO. While they were still in the process of being established, multiplied and expanded, a new military reality had to be contended with—the existence of intermediate-range missiles in the Soviet arsenal.

These new means of atomic bomb delivery made the NATO bases so vulnerable to Soviet attack that SAC saw itself forced to reduce the number of aircraft deployed overseas. NATO bases lost their primary importance as launching sites and became, in the main, refueling stations for intercontinental flights by SAC aircraft.

When the Soviets launched Sputnik, they proved that the means for intercontinental delivery of atomic bombs were within their reach. Our only possible immediate reaction to the new situation was to install launching sites for intermediate-range missiles within firing range of the Soviet Union. Having such launching sites in NATO countries could offset Russia's superiority in intercontinental delivery.

This, however, brings us back to the very situation which earlier caused SAC to withdraw some of its aircraft from overseas—the vulnerability of the NATO bases. The question was posed in dramatic simplicity by Albert Wohlstetter: *"If overseas bases are considered too vulnerable for manned bombers, will not the same be true for missiles?"* [2] Since the bases could be destroyed by Soviet intermediate-range missiles, they would hardly divert Soviet attack upon the territory of the U.S.A. by means of intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Before long, intercontinental missiles will constitute the chief factor of strategic reliance for both the United States and the Soviet Union. In such a situation, NATO

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[1] *Foreign Affairs*, April, 1959.

[2] "The Delicate Balance of Terror", *Foreign Affairs*, January, 1959.

RAISING STANDARDS OF LIVING

NEED THE SOVI

The investigation of the subcommittee on economic statistics of the Joint Economic Committee, under the chairmanship of Rep. Richard Bolling, provided a refreshing departure from the almost traditional demagoguery of most congressional investigations in recent years. Directing its attention to the comparative economies of the United States and the Soviet Union, the investigation centers on the most fateful aspects of our future. The mere initiation of such an analysis is a departure from the traditional chauvinistic arrogance which has so often misled us into believing that anything American is superior and cannot be effectively challenged. At last we have reached a mature stage of thinking where the objective merits of a contest between "the American way" and the forces and tendencies adverse to it are carefully weighed.

While the growth rate of the Soviet economy is at present more than twice that of our own, we may console ourselves with the fact that the total Soviet production lags so far behind ours that their relative growth does not reflect the actual comparative levels of the two national economies. Adding, for instance, a pair of shoes to the Soviet consumer is in terms of Soviet economic growth a major achievement, while a similar addition in American consumer goods would hardly affect the percentage of our economic growth. The ratio of growth in a hungry economy is quite a different matter from that in a highly developed economy. Therefore, once the Soviets have provided the essentials of modern living, it will be virtually impossible for them to retain their present ratio of growth.

While these are the consoling factors, there are other not less important aspects which we should be alert to.

The Soviets face a formidable task in attempting to match the total industrial and agricultural output of the United States. Even more formidable is their ambition of matching our per capita product. However we must bear in mind that the Soviet economy may well reach a standard of life essentially comparable with our own, without having reached the per capita production of the United States. Once the Soviet economy reaches, let's say, 80 per cent of the American per capita output (the figure of 80 per cent is used here arbitrarily, for the sake of making a point), it may provide the Soviet citizen with essentially the same goods and services as are provided to Americans at a much greater effort and investment.

This may be due to the differences between a state-planned and state-controlled economy and a free economy which is regulated by nothing but supply and demand. In the latter a significant portion of production ends in waste and non-essentials. To use but one instance: the Soviet economy does not have to match American butter production in order to supply its consumers with an equal quantity of butter. Parity will prevail as soon as the Soviets achieve the level of American butter production MINUS the quantities kept out of the American market through purchases by the Government.

This is equally true of many other agricultural and industrial products. The service provided by a small car is not essentially different from that provided by a car of 300 horse power. Should small cars become as popular in the Soviet Union as big cars are in the United States, the citizens of both countries would essentially enjoy an equal standard of living with respect to transportation. Furthermore, a well developed

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ETS SURPASS US?

system of public transportation in and between cities with fewer privately owned cars could probably provide as good a transportation service as the two cars of the American family. That esentially equal results would be achieved more economically by one system than by the other would only strengthen that system. In the final analysis, it is not the amount of effort which counts, but the results achieved.

Perhaps the most dramatic differences in the respective standards of Soviet and American living lie in the field of housing. It will take a long, long time before each American brick and each foot of electric wiring is matched by a Soviet brick and foot of electric wiring. But this is not necessary to secure for the Soviet citizen a level of housing essentially comparable with that of his American counterpart. If and when the average Soviet citizen occupies a modern, comfortable home, small significance will attach to the apparent superiority of the American home just because in addition to everything else it will also include a ping-pong room. While such a difference would be real, it would be so unessential as to lose all economic-sociological significance.

An authoritative study which would tell us what savings could be undertaken in the American economy without essentially lowering our standard of living is badly needed. Only a so reduced level of American production should be compared with the planned Soviet production levels.

It is a fallacy of the economic philosophy of *laissez-faire* that anything produced and traded automatically becomes an asset to the national economy. The apologists of *laissez-faire* often entertain the notion that another ten thousand high-powered salesmen could prevent recessions from ever occurring in our economy. That our economy may well be afflicted by a surplus of salesmen would never be admitted by a marketer. To him all goods sold strengthen the economy, even if they ultimately land in someone's *trash-can*. While this theory may be convenient for marketing enterprises, it would be a poor showing indeed were one to point to the "treasures" in *trash-cans* when relative national strengths are considered.

Which reminds us of the French peasant and his wife whose scheme for enrichment was to bring a barrel of wine to the village and sell the contents by the glass. Spending the night in anticipation of their retail trade the following morning, the peasant decided to taste a glass of the refreshment. He paid his wife for it. She in turn decided to wet her own tongue, for which she paid her husband. In the morning the wine was gone. For every glass a coin had been collected and the peasant and his wife could not understand how they had wound up with only one coin in their possession.

This story reflects many aspects of our economy more closely than appears at first glance. Each vibrator sold as a weight reducing device—and it can be so sold only by virtue of utter misrepresentation—required a certain amount of raw materials, labor and marketing effort. While it absorbed a certain amount of human energy, it provided no effective service in return. It was sheer waste, a sheer deficit in energy. So was each pill and drug sold by the millions without benefiting the misled purchasers. Or, did you notice the means by which barber shops "professionalize" their appearance? The service of lathering your face prior to shaving is performed effectively only by the act of relatively prolonged application. This service is

(Continued on next page)

bases, while no longer playing a decisive role, would only invite Soviet attack. That's why Italy's and Turkey's recent consent to the installation of intermediate-range missile sites on their soil was received as something of daring heroism on their part. Even the rather optimistic Henry A. Kissinger warned, already in 1957, that "*A* (Soviet) *1,500-mile missile would be useful primarily for blackmailing our allies or threatening our overseas bases . . . it might make overseas air bases untenable.*"[3]

In this new strategic reality, how will Europe defend itself? How will each member state contribute to the defense of the Atlantic Alliance? Once the nightmarish picture becomes reality, Europe may be forced to watch, passively, its fate being decided over its heads (literally).

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[3] *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy,* pub. by Harper & Bros., New York, 1957, p. 122.

THE NEUTRALIZATION OF THE COMMITTED

This prospect has grave political consequences. Leading European politicians, for years committed and loyal to NATO, have the feeling of the rug being pulled out from under their feet. They shudder at the thought of some day finding themselves in a state of forced neutrality. At the same time they are subjected to the disappointing realization that their advice is losing impact upon American foreign policy.

The possible economic repercussions are not less bleak. The construction and maintenance of American overseas bases play a vital part in the economies of the host countries. American trade and financial policies no longer need to be very conciliatory to European interests.

The mutuality of relations between Europe and America is rapidly losing grounds and so is the inter-dependent military relationship. It was precisely because of this that President Eisenhower had on two occasions to travel to Europe and assure its leaders that the United States, in talks with Soviet leaders, would not do what it had gained the power of doing.

On the other hand, the European powers, feeling the discomfort of having to depend on nothing but American good will subject to changing interpretations, started seeking compensative arrangements. France's obstructionism of NATO was not motivated by a weakened loyalty to that organization. If anything, France seeks to reinforce NATO's indispensability, precisely because this is no longer self-evident. *"Some of those who realized the gravity of the threat which the Soviets now held over the free world began to wonder if there was not a risk that the guarantee of nuclear intervention hitherto so generously offered by the United States to all the free peoples might not one day be limited to the stakes which the American public considered most essential to its own security,"* wrote René Pleven in the October, 1959 issue of *Foreign Affairs.*

Under the circumstances, one cannot help but conceive of the forthcoming summit conference as, at least partly, an American concession to Great Britain and France, having more to do with diplomatic courtesy than with deciding the issue of peace or war. The real summit was transferred to Camp David and any other place where President Eisenhower might meet with Chairman Khrushchev.

The political adjustments to the developing new reality of military technology will not be confined to American relations with other NATO members. A day may come when Soviet demands to disband both NATO and the Warsaw Pact will enter the realm of the negotiable, while a European demilitarized zone may well emerge of itself.

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Need The Soviets Surpass Us?

(Continued from page 7)

never performed by the "efficient" and professional looking gadget which turns out ready lather. The gadget deprives you of the needed service and also of money for which you could have obtained some effective service or goods. Such a gadget is inflationary. Or, perhaps you have watched a shoe shine boy at work? He has to convince you that there is a difference between your "amateurish" way and his way of shining shoes. So the poor boy invests all the energy gained from his breakfast cereal into swift, lashing motions of his rag somewhere above your shoe, in the air, once, and twice, and again he is shining, shining away the . . . air. Lost motions, lost effort which create nothing.

If waste were only limited to the "style" of shoe shining, there would hardly be a need to mention it while considering fateful problems of the national economy. Unfortunately the wasted motions are performed in each and every field of the American economy. What an incredibly big overhead has to be carried by our economy is indicated by the fact that so many products reach the retail market with a mark-up of several hundred, and at times even several thousand, per cent of the factory (or farm) price.

The peasant who sold every drop of his wine for a single coin, the shoe shine boy who made thousands of motions of which only a few did any good to your shoes, the ping-pong room in addition to the den, finished basement, recreation room and card game room, the salesman who sells refrigerators to Eskimos or vibrators to overweight people or the George Washington bridge to scores of tourists—all these caused money to circulate, but we had better deduct the products involved when surveying our gross national product.

The real problem is not only economic but also political. If the Soviets at present, with a gross national production of about 45 per cent of that of the United States, can divert into defense the same amount of money as we do, what will they be capable of investing into any field of national priority as the gap keeps narrowing? Their achievements in missiles indicate that at least in one economic respect they may already have surpassed us—in their ability to divert energies to top priority projects.

The real question is whether we can afford the luxury of keeping economics outside the domain of governmental responsibilities.

As fateful as this issue is to America, its solution will depend on those to whom any adjustment would prove most painful. It would require voluntary sacrifices, or at the very least passive compliance on the part of industry and trade, to adapt the American economy to the challenges of our era.

History does not lack instances of such voluntary sacrifices. So far however this has come about only in the face of a direct, domestic danger of expropriation through a Communist advent to power. Our industry and trade do not find themselves under quite similar direct pressure. The challenge does not come from within the country but from without. Will this more remote challenge compel the curtailment of self-interest on the part of those whose influence and power suffice to avert any change?

The compromises for which industry and trade settled in Italy in the twenties and in Germany in the thirties involved political schemes which, we may confidently hope, would prove utterly unacceptable to America. But, perhaps a road can be found which would make a somewhat planned economy compatible with the preservation of political and civil liberties.

Propaganda Through News-Slanting

(Continued from page 2)

LAOS: A CASE IN POINT

Recent developments in Laos and on the Sino-Indian border provided typical cases in point.

Misled by what many reporters must have conceived of as their patriotic duty, for many days virtually all news dispatches kept referring to the skirmishes in Laos as nothing else but an outright invasion by North Vietnamese forces.

There was sufficient background information on the record to make anyone proceed with caution in asserting the purely invasive and aggressive nature of the actions, of which the Laotian Government was alleged to be an innocent victim.

There were the provisions of the Convention of Geneva of 1954, which not only banned an increase of troops and arms for Laos and established the International Supervisory Commission, but also allowed the concentration of the leftist Pathet Lao forces in the north-eastern Laotian provinces, pending a political internal settlement. All these provisions were flagrantly and overtly violated by the Government at Vientiane, which did not hesitate to repudiate the Geneva Convention itself.

The Laotian army has been on the increase and so were its arms. The Laotian Government ominously paralyzed the International Commission for Laos of which Canada, India, and Poland were members. The Pathet Lao movement was duped into at least partial disarmament through inclusion in a coalition government. This move, subsequently, proved to have been a scheme for their decimation; after gaining a significant election victory in 1958, the Pathet Lao were, on July 22, 1959, thrown out of the government, and the succeeding government launched a campaign of crushing them by means of imprisonment, terrorism, and executions.

All this has to be kept against the background of fantastic corruption. Nor may it be forgotten that Laos is an artificial creation, a state without a nation.

To what degree the political schemes and the arming of the Laotian army were encouraged by American aid and advice is more than a matter of speculation.

But even if Laos was subjected to a foreign invasion, there were sufficient reasons to verify, with a grain of suspicion and skepticism, to what degree the invaders consisted of Laotian elements, who, having fled persecution and military pursuit, were now returning to their homeland to react to increased provocations of the Royal Government.

In spite of all these ominous implications of the well established record, the American press proceeded, for many days, with presenting a pic-

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ture which bore no relation to the known facts. Only after it could be safely assumed that the public was sufficiently prejudiced, references started creeping in which, if presented in due time and with proper emphasis, would have made the picture of the struggling angel and devil more dubious.

In presenting the Laotian events as nothing else than an outside intervention, our press found itself at variance with the responsible British and French press. Yet, no one could suspect the British and French of sympathies for Communist Vietnam. But, sympathies or not, somehow the British and French press feel compelled to more factual and objective reporting on events.

When finally a U.N. special committee reported that it had not uncovered any invasion of Laos, the American press did not apologize to its readers for misleading them, but still assuming its pretense of always being right and truthful, it gave the issue the silent treatment.

FUNERALS WITHOUT CORPSES

Similar distortions accompanied most news dispatches on the border skirmishes between Chinese and Indian forces. Suddenly, in our patriotic forgetfulness we became more Indian than the Indians themselves. Overnight we forgot yesterday's misgivings about Nehru and India and presented the events as nothing but a Chinese invasion of Indian territory. References were made to a MacMahon line as an accepted, indisputed international boundary, while the British, the authors of the MacMahon Line, pleaded ignorance of its legal sacrosanctity. The fact that the territory of the conflict has been subject to disputes and contradictory claims for half a century was virtually lost in the overall outcry against outright, unprovoked invasion.

Indeed, in view of our past presentations of the political upheavals in Egypt and later in Iraq, both at times having been pictured in the American press as outright Communist conspiracies by Col. Nasser and Gen. Kassem, it was amazing to watch the ungraceful acrobatics the press had later to perform in welcoming Nasser's and then Kassem's political resurrection. Since the European, and especially the British, press has never let its imagination loose to describe a Communist funeral of empty coffins, that press did not find it necessary, suddenly and miraculously, to welcome Nasser and Kassem back among the living.

In the sphere of foreign policy and foreign news coverage, our press all too often volunteers as a tactical arm of the State Department. Saddest is the fact that this is achieved not only by a voluntary automatic compliance with the State Department in editorial policies, but also in editorializing or slanting, of news items.

A lie does not stop being a lie just because it is patriotically inspired. Patriotism which cannot rely on the truth is not worth lying for. Our inclination to overdramatize our righteousness in our conflict with the Soviet Union tends to make us hysterical. It may also make many uncommitted people wonder whether we ourselves trust the implications of bare facts. The free world need not let loose its propaganda imaginativeness. It will serve its cause much better by uncompromised adherence to the truth. This will raise its own self-confidence and gain the trust of uncommitted people. Let brain-washing remain a Communist patent. We shall be better off without short lived, momentary expediencies. And first and foremost, let us keep our own house in a spiritual shape worth living for.

YOUR FRIENDS MIGHT APPRECIATE READING THE MINORITY OF ONE. SEND THEM A GIFT SUBSCRIPTION or WRITE US TO MAIL THEM A FREE SAMPLE COPY.

The Chronic Malady, or Our Relations With Latin America

When such staunch friends of the United States in Latin America as President Juscelino Kubitschek of Brazil lose their patience with the kind of *good neighbor policy* we have been providing, we had better stop and reflect whether it suffices to call each Latin-American critic of the U.S. a Communist.

The persistent rise of anti-American feelings throughout Latin America merits a soul searching inquiry which cannot be replaced by the platitudes of diplomatic protests submitted to governments each time the deterioration of relations is more or less violently demonstrated.

Two years ago, after Vice-President Richard Nixon's ill-famed tour of Latin-America, the Administration from the President down was most generous with statements to the effect that imaginative steps will be undertaken to improve relations between the U.S. and her neighbors to the south. In reality, however, the situation was allowed to deteriorate steadily.

The recent anti-American demonstrations in Panama and Cuba are dramatic reminders that a situation persists which won't be solved by pretending that everything is running its normal course.

The very fact that since the Nixon visit no dramatic changes in our Latin-American policies took place is an indictment of our attitude of "indifference" about which even President Kubitschek is so bitterly complaining. Perhaps we feel big and mighty enough not to be too concerned with the hurt feelings and offended pride of the Latin-Americans. Is it that they cannot make us "jumpy" just because we know that they do not have the power ever to "lick" us?

Were we to believe that all the ills of our relations with Latin America could be cured by offering a few more loans or financial aid, we would be refusing to penetrate the deep seated misgivings against us. Because, to put it very boldly and directly, the main misgivings the Cubans and the Panamanians and the Guatemalans as well as other Latin-Americans entertain against us are due to their not unjustified conviction that the American Government considers the private interests of each small group of American investors the national interests of the U.S.A. and acts accordingly. Be it Guatemala or be it Cuba, when land reforms are introduced which put the interests of several American companies in jeopardy, we react as if those countries had launched an attack against the United States. No sugar company and no fruit company exploiting foreign lands is the epitome of American national interests. It is a perfectly legitimate course of action when economically deprived nations attempt to improve their lot by eliminating foreign exploitation. This is the position we seem to be taking each time British or French colonial interests are being compromised. We, in effect, supported Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal with a determination which remained unswerved in spite of precipitating a crisis in our relations with Great Britain and France. We hesitate to endorse France's Algerian policy. Why is it then that we are utterly deprived of the ability to understand the legitimate aspirations of some of our Latin-American neighbors?!

In the long run, the sooner we learn that United States interests do not begin and end with one company or another operating on foreign soil, the sooner we will be able to lay sound foundations for interstate cooperation on the American continent. Shouting "Communist!" at each Latin-American leader who, in the pursuit of his nation's legitimate interests, may wish to curtail the activities of some American companies, is not only untrue, but soon enough there may be no one left we could consider our friend.

McCarthyism During and After . . .

(Continued from page 1)

But, to conceive of McCarthy in this way is to divorce him from the social, political, and historical background of his society. It took the application of an unexplained and unjustified sarcasm towards thinking in sociological terms. Rovere states *“Those of us who have been educated in the twentieth century habitually think in sociological terms, whether or not we have had any training in sociology”*[6], as if this statement justified disregard of the sociological view altogether.

Any discussion of McCarthy would be a futile exercise in political gossip unless it took stock of the society which begot him. *“All agitators are misfits. All misfits are potential neurotics or psychotics. But those whose image of reality is utterly distorted can win a following only in communities so demoralized that many other personalities are victims of similar frustrations, aggressions and hallucinations.*[7] *”*

McCarthy, rather than the spiritual father, was the spiritual offspring of a trend in American life, penetratingly described well over a century before the advent of *“McCarthyism”* by Alexis De Tocqueville, who knew no country *“in which there was so little independence of mind and real freedom of discussion as in America”*[8].

“CRIMESTOP” AND “AMERICAN” THINKING

While Rovere is preoccupied with McCarthy’s operating methods and devotes much space to the multiple-lie technique, another not less important McCarthy technique almost escapes his attention, precisely because he separates his hero from the totality of the American scene. In view of McCarthy’s vulnerability in such respects as truthfulness, financial integrity, and personal conduct, his success would be unthinkable were it not for his never compromised insistence that opposition to him was and could be motivated only by Communism or pro-Communism.

This perfidious technique was no more than an adaptation of a term which has long been ingrained in the American mind. There is no segment of truth in the intended implications of the term *“the American way of life”*. I profess having no inkling of what the *“American way of life”* is supposed to be. To me a life can be just or unjust, honorable or corrupt, rich or dull, but by what means, other than geographical coincidence, it becomes *“American”* is to me an enigma. And yet, it is one of the commonest expressions in America. Semantically meaningless, it constitutes an intellectual technique of intimidation. Through it, our always present sloganeers attempt to frighten away the individual from certain thoughts by classifying such thoughts as *“un-American”*.

“Americanism” of thinking is a self-imposed thought censorship which meets George Orwell’s definition of *“Crimestop”*. *“Crimestop”*, says Orwell, *“means the faculty of stopping short, as though by instinct, at the threshold of any dangerous thought. It includes the power of not grasping analogies, of failing to perceive logical errors, of misunderstanding the simplest arguments if they are inimical . . ., and of being bored or repelled by any train of thought which is capable of leading in a heretical direction. Crimestop, in short, means protective stupidity.*[9] *”*

It is *“Crimestop”*, which, as a matter of example, makes us, on the one hand, supersensitive to real or imaginary espionage directed against us, while, on the other hand, it makes us *“positively know”* that each time an American agent is accused of spying, the latter case is no more than an *“inconceivable lie”* on the part of our enemies. Similarly, each time our adversaries claim to have detected our reconnaisance planes over their territories, we preconditionally *“know”* that it was not so. And this in spite of the fact that, like nowhere else in the world, our magazines, radio, and television continually feature and extol the adventures of our intelligence agents.

“Crimestop” lends one the ability of drawing a differentiating line between identical political twins such as the 1954 events in Guatemala and the 1956 events in Hungary, between *“coerced”*, *“imposed”* *“puppet”* regimes of East Europe and the *“free”*, *“democratic”* and *“representative”* *“Chinese”* government of Chiang-Kai-Shek, which is to be found nowhere in China. What an unfailing *“power of not grasping analogies”!*

It always seemed to me that thoughts can be measured in terms of correctness, logic, depth, knowledgeableness, and on the other hand —in terms of stupidity, irrelevance, shallowness, ignorance. So, what, for intelligence’s sake, is the *“American way of life”* and what is *“American”* thinking?!

I plead no naivete. I am aware that, should for instance, a representative of the steel industry undertake to answer my question, he would define the demands of steel workers for higher wages as *“utterly un-American”*, perhaps even *“pinko”* and *“subversive”*. According to AMA each public health clinic would fall into this category, and according to Senator McClellan these adjectives would apply to the power of corrupt unions (off the record—unions, whether corrupt or otherwise). Were Admiral Louis Strauss ever to revise an American dictionary, his definition of *“un-American thinking”* would pertain to all those who favor the revealing of the truth about atomic fallout.

THE ART OF RELATING THE UNRELATED

The striking similarity between all these not-so-hypothetical instances lies in the impertinence between thesis and evidence.

The technique of the protagonists of *“American”* thinking is to prove something, but to pretend that something else was proved. Since there must be an element of truth in whatever they are proving, the actual fraud occurs in applying correct, or partly correct, but unsupporting evidence to impertinent matters. The popular saying *“George Washington slept in that bed. If you don’t believe it, there’s the bed”* reflects such fraudulent technique which, obviously, has been employed widely enough to leave a satiric mark on American folklore.

Orwell’s grim prophecy regarding the *“Doublethink”* mentality well antedates his picture of *Nineteen Eighty-Four; “To know and not to know, to be conscious of complete truthfulness while telling carefully constructed lies, to hold simultaneously opinions which canceled out, knowing them to be contradictory and believing in both of them, to use logic against logic, to repudiate morality while laying claim to it, to know that democracy was impossible and that the Party was the guardian of democracy, to forget whatever it was necessary to forget, then to draw it back into memory again at the moment when it was needed, and then promptly to forget it again, and above all, to apply the same process to the process itself—that was the ultimate subtlety: consciously to induce unconsciousness, and then, once again, to become unconscious of the act of hypnosis you had just performed. Even to understand the word ‘doublethink’ involved the use of doublethink*[10] *”*, *“the essential act . . . is to use conscious deception while retaining the firmness of purpose that goes with complete honesty.”* [11]

While we are still removed a whole generation from Orwell’s deadline, doublethink is widely employed in politics, business, and advertising.

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[6] Ibid., p. 265

[7] From Frederick Lewis Schuman’s article on Adolf Hitler, in the 1958 edition of Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 11, p. 598A

[8] *Democracy in America*, pub. by Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1956, Vol. I, p. 263

[9] *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, pub. by Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1949, p. 213

[10] Ibid., p. 36

[11] Ibid., p. 215

The *"power of positive thinking"* may sound quite innocent when proclaimed from the pages of a book by a business advisor or a family consultant, but in reality it is, all too often, nothing else than a misnomer for doublethink. (With the ears of my imagination I hear the prophets of *"positive thinking"* claim that I moronically misunderstood them.)

DOUBLETHINK IN COMMERCE AND EVERYWHERE ELSE

I have recently had a prolonged opportunity of observing a large national sales organization in action. The chief executive in charge of hiring salesmen, freely admitted to me that his success in engaging men for insecure and dubious positions was due to his extensive use of misrepresentations and false promises to the job applicants. At the same time, however, he also explained his hiring success by the fact that he sincerely believed in each and every word he was saying to the misled applicant. Subsequently, the company novices were taught to use an abundance of lies and misrepresentations towards prospective customers. At the same time, however, no effort was saved to impress upon the salesman that no gimmick salesmanship was tolerated. In order to be effective, the doublethinker has to be aware of the fact that he is tampering with facts, but at the same time he has to believe in the tampered version of the facts. The depicted kind of salesmanship was intended to create the enthusiasm and conviction which normally accompany the truth only. Professional sales experts, who stress the importance of enthusiasm in sales presentations, have often in mind nothing but a commercial application of doublethink.

We meet many other doublethinkers daily, on the screen of our TV sets. (Or, weren't you impressed with the *sincere happiness* of the announcer who was just telling you what a laxative did for him?).

In political terms, doublethink has been a method employed ever since the Federalists identified political opposition with sedition, through the pogrom of the rising Socialist Party during World War I, to McCarthy's recent assassinations of freedom—all of them having claimed to defend freedom against real or imaginary enemies.

If we should ever attempt to clean our house of doublethink, no means would be spared by political, military, business, advertising and religious circles to prevent us from such an overdue house cleaning. They would suppress our attempts as they successfully opposed the teaching of propaganda analysis prior to and during the early days of World War II.[12] And yet, as long as doublethink is permitted to flourish and is more and more becoming an accepted part in management and leadership training. McCarthyism remains with us. It is with us in a much more dangerous, basic, and perveting form than the ostentatious vulgarities of the man from Wisconsin.

If the term *"brain-washing"* implies such perversion of a mind as enables, through destroying its logical discipline, to impose otherwise unacceptable thoughts, it was McCarthyism as well as *"Americanism of thinking"* which commonly supplied perfect instances of it.

THE IGNORANT PERCEPTION

The demagogue feeds on ignorance. He provides the ignorant with an emotional perception of complicated problems which otherwise would be utterly incomprehensible to him. The one who discards his newspaper after devouring its sensational crime accounts, sport scores, and gossip columns, is pitiably deprived of the necessary background to understand important national and international events. In such a state, any sloganeering oversimplification offers itself as a substitute for background knowledge and intelligent analysis. When developments take place in Cuba, for instance, the ignoramus' conception of such events has nothing to be derived from but personal intuition. From newspaper headlines he knows that these developments are unpleasant to him as an American. The unpleasant emotional complex within him, which he calls Communism, is agitated. The relief from desperate personal inadequacy of understanding is great. Suddenly the issue (never issues) is perfectly clear; Communism in Cuba, that's it! Or, Communists in the Department of State! Or, treason on the part of the President *"I was always against"!* (A lazy commentator, reporter or politician, tired of having to study up on each event in a never ending flow of events, may well adopt this technique as a shortcut to being able to produce a story or a comment.)

McCarthy and his immediate spiritual predecessor, the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives, added a new dimension to the technique of relegating unrelated evidence to an advanced thesis. They introduced its use in reverse. While until now the PRESENCE of unrelated evidence was asserted as proving unsupported contentions, from now on the ABSENCE of evidence served the same end. An individual's plea of the Fifth Amendment makes any evidence so withheld unavailable and non-existent. Yet, such ABSENCE of evidence was construed as evidence and, invariably, as incriminating evidence.

FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE IN DOUBLETHINK

This does not exhaust the moral perversion of our traditional architects of conformity. The irrelevance between thesis and evidence is not confined to a fraudulent technique of intellectual deduction. To be effective, it had to be paralleled by a system of execution similar in nature. That's why the intellectual fraud did not come but to clear the way for a political fraud. That's how a system of impertinence between crime and punishment developed. As the mere presence of a gun would not prove a man guilty of murder, so it would be unjust and ridiculous to punish an actual killer, let's say, for spitting on the victim's floor rather than for the killing. It would be doubly fraudulent if the minor, or incidental offense were punished with a severity intended to expiate the main crime.

And yet, when citizen X becomes a *"trouble maker"*, or a liability to someone representing an accepted code, often, rather than to battle the dividing issues frontally and directly, citizen X may well get a traffic ticket even if he never drove a car in his life. Or, we might start investigating his income tax returns, which never concerned us prior to his becoming an opponent. Or, he may lose his job. When we fight corruption—and what could be more commendable?!—it will usually be for an ulterior motive, or we would not have fought it. I would be the last one to condone corruption in labor unions, or anywhere else, but it is rather a general realization that it is not corruption in itself which is being so ardently fought at the present, but also unionism as such.

Somehow, we have no qualms about settling our political and other public grievances by means irrelevant to the problems involved. Our *"account"* with Charlie Chaplin, for instance, was, at least partly, *"settled"* through the good offices of the Internal Revenue. So were the *"accounts"* of many adversaries in public life. In fact, there seems to be such a wide spread cheating going on with respect to taxes, that in spite of our general attitude of *"let sleeping dogs lie"*, tax investigations became a favorite weapon we use against any adversary. But again, not before he became an adversary.

As tax investigations for ulterior motives became acceptable, so did the manipulated administration of

(Continued on next page)

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[12] See Aldous Huxley's enlightening dissertations on propaganda.

Miss Marianne K. Pollich

NOTE TO SACs, CONTINUED

Correspondent enclosed the December, 1959, and the January, 1960, issues of "The Minority of One," a small magazine-type publication issued by The Minority of One, Incorporated, Post Office Box 6594, Richmond, Virginia, and edited by M. S. Arnoni. The December, 1959, issue was apparently the first issue of this publication. It is self-described as an "independent monthly publication, dedicated to the elimination of all thought restrictions except for the truth." It claims there are no groups sponsoring it and no advertisers and its success must depend upon the support of its readers. The articles in these issues cover a variety of subjects, many of a controversial nature, and include discussions of the importance of Summit talks, discussions concerning the late Senator McCarthy and McCarthyism, comparison of the economy of the United States and Russia, and our relations with Latin America. These articles are somewhat of a critical nature concerning the various policies of this Government. Bufiles contain no identifiable information concerning "The Minority of One" or M. S. Arnoni.

The Richmond Office is instructed to furnish the Bureau any information in its files concerning M. S. Arnoni and "The Minority of One." In the event no pertinent information is known to the Richmond Office, discreet inquiries should be made to attempt to determine background information concerning Arnoni and the nature, aims and purposes of his publication and the identities of any groups or individuals associated with Arnoni and his publication. These inquiries must be limited to checks of credit and criminal records and contacts with established sources of the Richmond Office.

The results of these inquiries must be promptly submitted to the Bureau under appropriate caption with reference made to this communication.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Correspondent has received two sample copies of the above publication and is suspicious of its intent. She states that although the publication claims to express no political views it seems to point out fallacies of the United States and democracy. She believes it in a very clever manner may leave the impression that communism is superior. She requests the Bureau review the publication and furnish her its "experienced opinion" of the publication.

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
~~Mr. Mohr~~
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

FBI

Date: 3/5/68

Transmit the following in ______________________________
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

REC 68

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (25-79658)

RE : ANTIDRAFT ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION CONCERNING (INTERNAL SECURITY)

Re Bureau airtel to Albany dated 1/29/68, captioned as above; Los Angeles airtel to Bureau dated 12/13/67, captioned JAMES LEROY DOSS, aka; JOE DOUGLAS NELSON, Racial Matters; and Bureau letter to Los Angeles dated 1/8/68 captioned JAMES LEROY DOSS, aka Tayari; JOE DOUGLAS NELSON; Racial Matters.

Enclosed for the Bureau is an original and seven copies of Letterhead Memorandum for dissemination in accordance with instructions set forth in Bureau airtel to Albany dated 1/29/68.

The Los Angeles Police Department is aware of article appearing in "Open City" and the information contained in the article will be presented to Chief of Police REDDIN and his staff at their staff meeting on Tuesday, March 5, 1968. It will then be ascertained if the information appearing in the newspaper will be presented to the City Attorney for his prosecutive opinion.

The Bureau may desire to furnish this to the Department of Justice for their information.

EX-110 REC-68 25-520132-1315

Source utilized in LHM is Bureau airtel to Albany dated 1/29/68.

ENCLOSURE

3 - Bureau (Enc. 8)
2 - Sacramento (Enc 2)
2 - Los Angeles (25-79658)
(1 - 157-943)
BDH:sch
(7)

MAR 15 1968

AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.,
RAO (ISD, ~~CRD~~, CD) State
DATE FORW: 3-11-68
HOW FORW: R/S
BY: RWT:RAK

C. C. - Bishop

Approved: ______________________ Sent ______________ M Per ______________
Special Agent in Charge

55 MAR 25 1968

LA 25-79658

Copies of LHM are being disseminated to United States Attorney Secret Service, Los Angeles and military authorities. Also copy beingforwarded to Sacramento for dissemination to Selective Service Headquarters.

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in ______________________________
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via ______________________________
(Priority)

Approved: ______________________________
Special Agent in Charge

Sent ______________ M Per ______________

UNIT[illegible] STATES DEPARTMENT OF [illegible]STICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Los Angeles, California
March 5, 1968

calif

ANTIDRAFT ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION CONCERNING

The March 1-7, 1968, issue number 44, of the "Open City", a weekly newspaper published in Los Angeles, California, and self-described as a member of the "Underground" press, contained an article on page nine captioned, "New Peace Tactic....SABOTAGE!"

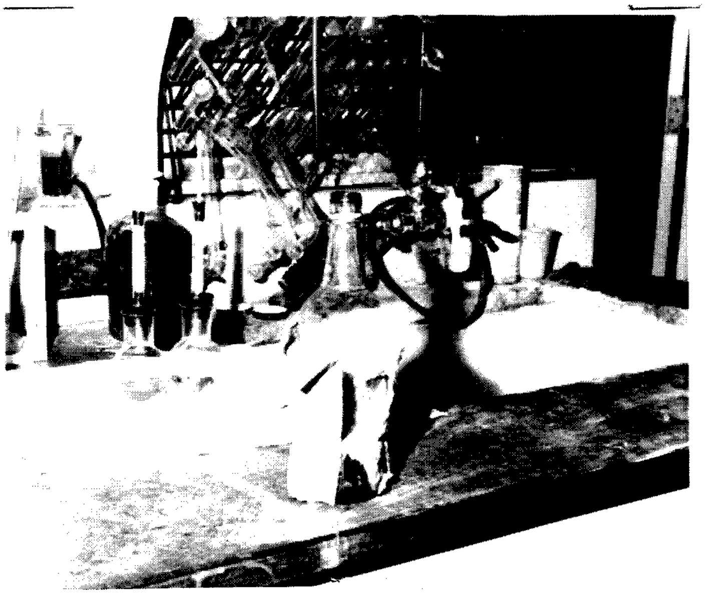
Attached to this communication is a copy of that article, which contains diagrams for making a chemical fire bottle and indicates that in recent weeks anti-war people have been getting a mimeographed broadside from Toronto, Canada, that describes a couple of simple fire-bombs and explains at length why sabotage is the necessary and property next step in the movement. Wide distribution is being made among black nationalists.

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished a pamphlet entitled, "What Must We Do Now?.. An Argument for Sabotage as the Next Logical Step Toward Obstruction and Disruption of the U.S. War Machine" indicating the pamphlet is published in Toronto, Canada, refers to the need for increased radicalization of the antiwar movement and urges the utilization of incendiary devices to immobilize local boards. Detailed instructions and diagrams are contained in the pamphlet for the construction of simple incendiary devices. The pamphlet has been distributed to 327 anti-Vietnam War groups in the United States.

The Firestone Substation of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office, Los Angeles, California, has previously made available bottles of an amber liquid sealed with paraffin which had fabric wrapped around the base of the bottle. The bottles had been obtained in connection with investigation conducted by the Firestone Substation in regards to a racial incident on

25 520132-1315

ENCLOSURE



FD-350 (4-3-62)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

new Peace tactic...

SABOTAGE!

By ROBERT IGRIEGA

After the thwarted climax of last April's San Francisco peace march and the bombing escalation that followed, this paper reported the spontaneous wave of sabotage-and-violence talk that swept the peace movement.

Now, ten months later, there is more to report than talk.

In a weasling and unattractive article, in "Minority of One", M.S. Arnoni openly advocates sabotage against the U.S. government. From an assumed plane of moral superiority Arnoni scorns the American anti-war movement for asking "What can we do next?" when what to be done, he says, is obvious. Although nowhere does he have nerve enough to use the word "sabotage", Arnoni relates how he shocked a young academic who asked him "What can we do?" by replying that with a lightly-guarded military installation not far away he should not have to ask what to do.

leaflet

U.S.A

Reading the article one gets the definite impression Arnoni will not be splashing any gasoline on his own pants. One wishes the young professor had said "Let's you and me go together, Arnoni, right now."

Within the last two months this reporter got to look, briefly, at a very detailed backyard sabotage manual. It

3

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

"Open City"
Los Angeles, Calif.
Page 9

Date: March 1-7, 1968
Edition:
Author: Robert Igriega
Editor: JOHN BRYAN
Title: Antidraft Activiti
in the United States
Information Concerning
Character: SSA of 1948
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: Los Angeles

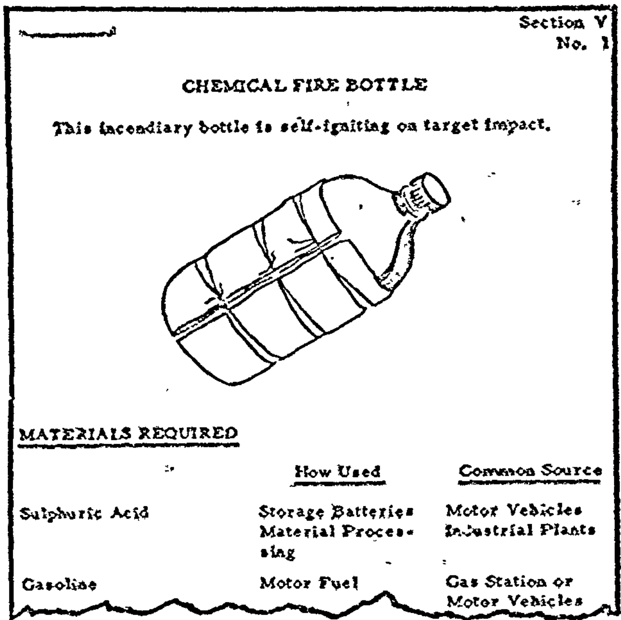
went into an infinite variety of ways to make napalm [mixing gasoline and eggwhites for instance], and describing how to devise your own detonator [without breaking the filament, fill a lightbulb with black powder: when the light's turned on -- boom!]

This was supposed to be a CIA manual that was distributed and reproduced outside official channels. Except for its blank outside covers it did, indeed, look like an official government pamphlet. The person who had it said it had already gotten wide distribution among black nationalists. He himself was white. He said he had to have it right back.

In recent weeks anti-war people have been getting a mimeographed broadside from Toronto, Canada, that describes a couple of simple firebombs and explains at length why sabotage is the necessary and proper next step in the movement. Sections of that broadside are reprinted here.

The anonymous writer in Canada, obviously an American, suggests that straight and otherwise unsuspected people get familiar with some simple bombs, and perhaps once every three or four months carry out an act of sabotage against a draft board, an induction center, or some other government installation.

According to University anti-war people at Berkeley, at least three fires have been set at the Berkeley Draft Board in recent months. On Feb. 15 the Berkeley campus building used by the Navy ROTC was hit with four Molotov cocktails in a pre-dawn raid that caused a reported $2,000 damage. Four days later in another early morning attack a gasoline fire was set at the Navy ROTC building at Stanford University, this time causing damage estimated between $5,000 and $6,000.

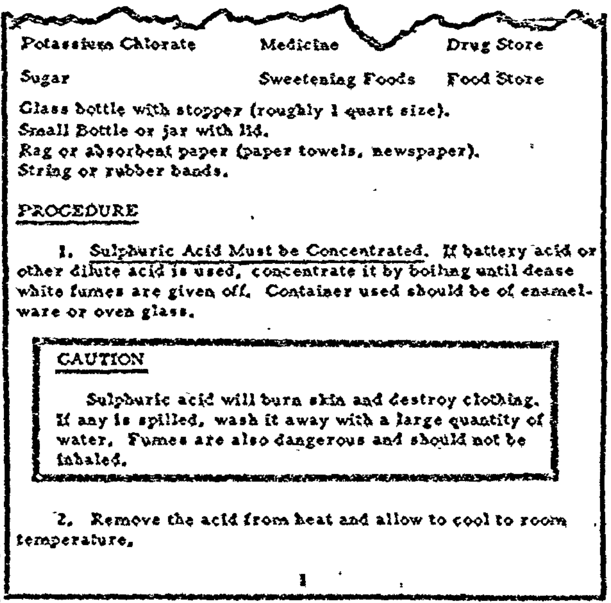


Section V
No. 1

CHEMICAL FIRE BOTTLE

This incendiary bottle is self-igniting on target impact.

MATERIALS REQUIRED



	How Used	Common Source
Sulphuric Acid	Storage Batteries Material Processing	Motor Vehicles Industrial Plants
Gasoline	Motor Fuel	Gas Station or Motor Vehicles
Potassium Chlorate	Medicine	Drug Store
Sugar	Sweetening Foods	Food Store

Glass bottle with stopper (roughly 1 quart size).
Small Bottle or jar with lid.
Rag or absorbent paper (paper towels, newspaper).
String or rubber bands.

PROCEDURE

1. Sulphuric Acid Must be Concentrated. If battery acid or other dilute acid is used, concentrate it by boiling until dense white fumes are given off. Container used should be of enamelware or oven glass.

CAUTION

Sulphuric acid will burn skin and destroy clothing. If any is spilled, wash it away with a large quantity of water. Fumes are also dangerous and should not be inhaled.

2. Remove the acid from heat and allow to cool to room temperature.

1

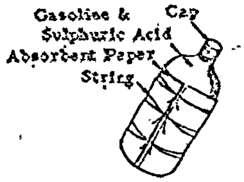
3. Pour gasoline into the large (1 quart) bottle until it is approximately 2/3 full.

4. Add concentrated sulphuric acid to gasoline slowly until the bottle is filled to within 1" to 2" from top. Place the stopper on the bottle.

5. Wash the outside of the bottle thoroughly with clear water.

> **CAUTION**
>
> If this is not done, the fire bottle may be dangerous to handle during use.

6. Wrap a clean cloth or several sheets of absorbent paper around the outside of the bottle. Tie with string or fasten with rubber bands.



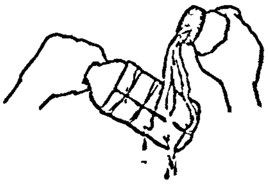
7. Dissolve 1/2 cup (100 gm) of potassium chlorate and 1/2 cup (100 gm) of sugar in one cup (250 cc) of boiling water.

8. Allow the solution to cool, pour into the small bottle and cap tightly. The cooled solution should be approx. 2/3 crystals and 1/3 liquid. If there is more liquid than this, pour off excess before using.

> **CAUTION**
>
> Store this bottle separately from the other bottle.

HOW TO USE

1. Shake the small bottle to mix contents and pour onto the cloth or paper around the large bottle.



Bottle can be used wet or after solution has dried. However, when dry, the sugar - Potassium chlorate mixture is very sensitive to spark or flame and should be handled accordingly.

2. Throw or launch the bottle. When the bottle breaks against a hard surface (target) the fuel will ignite.

December 8, 1967. A photograph of one of these bottles is attached.

The FBI Laboratory has advised that potassium chlorate when mixed with many finely divided organic solids (sugar, flour, wood dust, cotton batting, etc.()will ignite spontaneously be contact with a few drops of concentrated sulfuric acid. Thus, a drop of concentrated sulfuric acid placed on a piece of fabric would cause it to ignite immediately.

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THE MINORITY OF ONE

Independent Monthly Publication, Dedicated to the Elimination of All Thought Restrictions Except for the Truth

"There was truth and there was untruth, and if you clung to the truth even against the whole world, you were not mad."—GEORGE ORWELL

Vol. I, No. 1 THE MINORITY OF ONE, INC. 101 Address for subscriptions and correspondence: P.O. Box 544, Passaic, N. J. Editor: M. S. Arnoni **December, 1959**

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P. O. Box 544
Passaic, N. J.
PR 8-1539

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154 Nassau Street
New York 38, N. Y.
CO 7-1740

October 30, 1964

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Enclosed here is a photostatic copy of what purports to be your letter of April 15, 1964 to a Mr. Brady. We would appreciate your comments on the authenticity and content of this document.

Because this publication has often been critical of you personally and of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, it may be pertinent that I assure you of my intention to be scrupulously fair in the treatment of this document.

Since we are about to go to press with our next issue and since your response may warrant some discussion of this document in it, I would especially appreciate if we could have your comments without delay.

Sincerely yours,

M. S. Arnoni
M. S. Arnoni
Editor

MSA/rp

EX. PROC.

30 NOV 2 1964

5 ~~LIAISON~~

62-105913-60

18 NOV 9 1964

1-ENCLOSURE

REC 61

ack Letto Arnone
JJF:mel
11/4/64

Memo-Brennan-WCS
JJF:mel
11/4/64

CORRESPONDENCE

EX-112

62-105913-60

REC 61

November 4, 1964

1 - Orig
1 - Yellow
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Callahan
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Foarde

N.J

Mr. M. S. Arnoni
Editor
The Minority of One
Post Office Box 544
Passaic, New Jersey 07055

Dear Mr. Arnoni:

Your letter of October 30, 1964, has been received.

In response to your inquiry, the purported letter which you enclosed is an obvious fabrication. We do not have an Agent named Thomas A. Brady in our employ and have had no employee with this name for more than fifteen years.

When the letter you mentioned first appeared in some South American newspapers, the U. S. State Department, after checking with this Bureau, authorized U. S. Embassies in South America to deny its authenticity and to state that neither I nor anyone else in the U. S. Government ever wrote such a letter.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

MAILED 4
NOV - 5 1964
COMM-FBI

FBI READING ROOM
NOV 4 5 00 PM '64

1 - Newark (100-46331)
(with copies of incoming)

JJF:mll
(12)

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
DeLoach
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

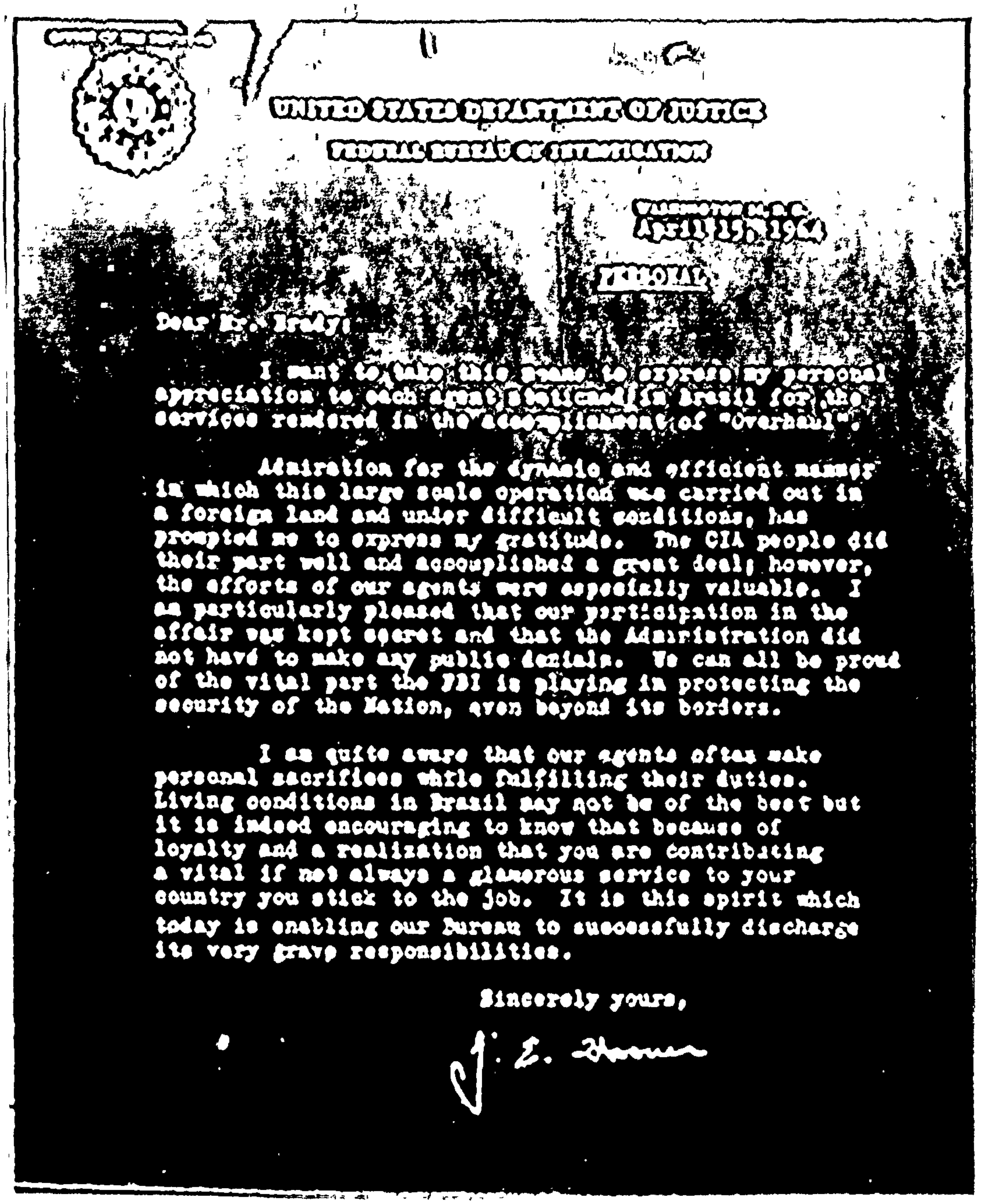
NOTE:

See memo Brennan to Sullivan, 11/4/64, re: "Manachem S. Arnoni, aka, 'The Minority of One,' Forged Letters to Thomas A. Brady," JJF:mll

781

60 NOV 17 1964

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D.C.
April 15, 1964

PERSONAL

Dear Mr. Brady:

I want to take this means to express my personal appreciation to each agent stationed in Brazil for the services rendered in the accomplishment of "Overhaul".

Admiration for the dynamic and efficient manner in which this large scale operation was carried out in a foreign land and under difficult conditions, has prompted me to express my gratitude. The CIA people did their part well and accomplished a great deal; however, the efforts of our agents were especially valuable. I am particularly pleased that our participation in the affair was kept secret and that the Administration did not have to make any public denials. We can all be proud of the vital part the FBI is playing in protecting the security of the Nation, even beyond its borders.

I am quite aware that our agents often make personal sacrifices while fulfilling their duties. Living conditions in Brazil may not be of the best but it is indeed encouraging to know that because of loyalty and a realization that you are contributing a vital if not always a glamorous service to your country you stick to the job. It is this spirit which today is enabling our Bureau to successfully discharge its very grave responsibilities.

Sincerely yours,

J. E. Hoover

62-105913-60

ENCLOSURE

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
5010-104

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (62-105913) DATE: 6/15/61

FROM : SAC, RICHMOND (157-121)

SUBJECT: THE MINORITY OF ONE, INC.
RACIAL MATTERS

For the information of the Bureau and Newark, on May 31, 1961 E. L. ROBBINS, Reynolds Medals Company, Richmond, Virginia advised that the June, 1961 issue of "The Minority of One" reflects that this publication has moved its offices and the new address is as follows:

The Minority of One, Inc.
77 Pennington Avenue
Post Office Box 544
Passiac, New Jersey

He advised that the June, 1961 issue was published from this address and the publication contains the following statement: "Without a tear, we have finally left Virginia, the land of bigotry, hatred and bias."

For the information of Newark, "The Minority of One" is published by MENACHEM SAMUEL ARNONI and enclosed herewith for the Newark Office are copies of the following communications which contain background data concerning the publication and ARNONI:

Richmond letter to Director dated 2/4/60
Richmond letterhead memorandum dated 2/4/60
New York letter to director dated 3/8/60
Bulet to Kansas City dated 1/27/61

2 - Bureau (Registered Mail)
1- Newark (Registered Mail)(Enc. 4)
1- Richmond
CFH/mcg
(4)

62-105913-28

REC- 26

EX-107

JUN 19 1961
FBI

66 JUN 22 1961

FD-263 (Rev. 9-27-65)

2 11

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
SAN FRANCISCO	NEW YORK	11/30/67	10/19/67 - 11/29/67

TITLE OF CASE	REPORT MADE BY	TYPED BY
"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"; WEEKLY GUARDIAN ASSOCIATES, INC.	ZAVEN JARDARIAN	al
~~SECRET~~	CHARACTER OF CASE IS-C ISA of 1950	

~~CLASSIFIED BY~~ [redacted]
ON ~~10-4-82~~

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.~~ B.A. W

b6
b7C

REFERENCE: Report of SA ZAVEN JARDARIAN, 5/15/67, at San Francisco.

- P* -

~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S)~~ Class R.T. 12/6/79

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ since data reported from SF T-1, T-4, T-5, T-6, T-8, through T-11, T-13, and T-14 could reasonably result in identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise effectiveness thereof. CO

HERBERT J. PHILLIPS and MARGARET DRIGGS are both on the Security Index.

~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF Classification DATE 7/6/77 TSS/mkg~~

- A -
COVER PAGE

~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) BY DRK/914 DATE 9-21-79~~

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED — SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:
5 - Bureau (100-357044)(RM)
1 - NISO-12ND (RM)
1 - OSI-19D (RM)
2 - 115th MI Grp(RM)
2 - New York (100-93572)(RM)
2 - San Francisco (100-31356)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

100-357044-198 REC-9

EX 101

18 DEC 6 1967

~~CLASS. BY SP5RJG/DMC/7015~~
~~DATE OF REVIEW 10-4-82~~

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2 [illegible]
ON 4/10/00 914182

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	NCS,	OSI, ONI,	RAC(ISD)	
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.	12-14-67			
How Fwd.	R/S			
By	WNR:RAK			

Notations

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ~~SECRET~~

~~Classified by 5886~~
~~Exempt From GDS Category 3~~
~~Date of Declassification - Indefinite~~
6/30/77

57 DEC 19 1967

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

San Francisco, California

BU 100-357044 November 30, 1967
SF 100-31356

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Title	"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"; WEEKLY GUARDIAN ASSOCIATES, INC.
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, 1950
Reference	Report of SA ZAVEN JARDARIAN, dated and captioned as above, at San Francisco, California.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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~~SECRET~~

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SF 100-31356
ZJ:jal

(u)
X

Identity of Source	[redacted]
SF [redacted] (~~S~~)(u)	(u)
SF T-12 is [redacted] (BY REQUEST)	Characterization of BILL CALLISON
SF T-13 is [redacted]	[redacted]
SF [redacted] (~~S~~)(u)	[redacted] (~~S~~)(u)

LEAD:

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA. Will continue to follow and report activities of captioned organization.

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:	1 - NISO-12ND (RM) 1 - OSI-19D (RM) 2 - 115th MI Grp (RM)		
Report of:	ZAVEN JARDARIAN	**Office:**	San Francisco
Date:	11/30/67		
Field Office File #:	100-31356	**Bureau File #:**	100-357044
Title:	"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"; WEEKLY GUARDIAN ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED		
Character:	INTERNAL SECURITY - C INTERNAL SECURITY ACT, 1950		

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

CLASS. BY [redacted]
DATE OF REVIEW OADR
10-4-82

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b7C

[redacted]

Synopsis:

Headquarters of "National Guardian" (NG) still at 55 Colton Street, San Francisco. HERBERT J. PHILLIPS has replaced FARRELL BRODY in the masthead of the NG as representing the NG in the San Francisco area as of the 9/23/67, issue of the NG. However, current literature distributed by the NG is signed by MARGARET DRIGGS as NG representative for Northern California. At a "People's World" (PW) meeting in San Francisco, in May, 1967, it was stated by an individual, reported as a current CP member, that the NG has been taken over by "Progressive Labor thinking people". NG sponsored forums on 5/19/67, 7/7/67, and 9/15/67, in San Francisco and a picnic on 7/30/67 at San Bruno, California.

DECLASSIFIED BY
ON 4/4/82 #9/4/82

DECLASSIFIED BY 3908 ~~[redacted]~~
ON ~~4-11-80~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-4-82 BY [redacted]

~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF Classification DATE 2/4/77 ESS/mdg~~

DETAILS:

Unless otherwise reported, there is no reported information reflecting Communist Party (CP) affiliation on the part of individuals mentioned in this report.

I. LOCATION AND OFFICERS

The August 12, 1967, issue of the "National Guardian"

~~SECRET~~

~~Classified by~~ [redacted]
~~Exempt From GDS Category~~ 3
~~Date of Declassification - Indefinite~~ 6/30/77

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~GROUP I~~
~~Excluded from automatic Downgrading and Declassification~~

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(NG), a characterization of which is contained in the Appendix, was the last issue to include the following in its masthead: "Northern California Guardian Bureau: Farrell Brody, 55 Colton Street, San Francisco, California, 94103, telephone 861-8294. Robert Randolph (news), telephone TH 3-6409." Thereafter, the NG deleted reference to ROBERT RANDOLPH and included only FARRELL BRODY in its masthead under "Northern California Guardian Bureau" up to and including the September 16, 1967 issue. The September 23, 1967, issue of the NG was the first issue that deleted reference to FARRELL BRODY. This issue contained the following: "Northern California Guardian Bureau, Herbert J. Phillips, 55 Colton Street, San Francisco, California, telephone 861- 8294." As of the November 11, 1967, issue, the masthead of the NG, under the heading "Domestic Bureaus," included the following: "San Francisco - Herbert J. Phillips, 55 Colton Street telephone 861-8294."

SI

FARRELL BRODY was recently believed to have been made a member of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP).

Source: SF T-1, 9/15/67

A characterization of the Bay Area PLP (BAPLP) and the PLP are contained in the Appendix.

SI

ROBERT RANDOLPH and his wife were delegates from the United States of America to the Latin American Peace Conference held in Mexico, March 5 - 8, 1961. The principal sponsor of this peace conference was General LAZARO CARDENAS, former President of Mexico, and the tenor of the conference was anti-United States and pro-Cuba. After the conference, RANDOLPH and his wife left for Havana, Cuba, via Cubana Airlines, their passage being paid for by the Cuban Government, as were their expenses during their stay in Mexico City.

~~(S)~~(U)

Info released re NG request DRK/WFB 4-11-90

Source: SF T-2, 3/14/61)

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SF 100-31356
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Released re NG request
~~(S)~~ (U) WEB
4-11-80

ROBERT RANDOLPH left for Havana, Cuba, via Cubana Airlines, from Mexico City on March 13, 1961, along with several other persons, all of whom had received loose-leaf visa, which would not be reflected in their passports.

Source: SF T-3, 4/10/61

The July 2, 1963, issue of the "San Francisco Examiner", a San Francisco daily newspaper, revealed in an article entitled, "Witnesses Won't Talk to HCUA", that the House Un-American Activities Committee (HCUA) held a two-day inquiry in Los Angeles into alleged illegal travel to communist Cuba. The article stated in part that ROBERT EUGENE RANDOLPH "steadfastly refused to answer questions about a trip he and his wife reportedly made to Cuba in 1961."

~~S~~

HERBERT JOSEPH PHILLIPS appeared as a defense witness in a Smith Act case which was tried in United States District Court, Seattle, Washington, in 1953. PHILLIPS testified as an expert in behalf of the defendants on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and his experience in presenting that theory. During his testimony, he stated he was a member of the CP in Seattle, Washington continuously since approximately 1935 and an active participant in CP activities during that time.

In a letter dated November 3, 1967, addressed to "Dear National Guardian Reader," signed by MARGARET DRIGGS, "Guardian Representative for Northern California," DRIGGS mentioned that the former NG representative for Northern California had to resign to take a commercial job. According to SF T-4 the former NG representative was FARRELL BRODY.

Source: SF T-4, 10/9/67.

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MARGARET DRIGGS was interviewed by Special Agents of the FBI on January 25, 1955, at which time she advised that her activities in the Communist Party (CP) 5 ~~as~~ well as that of her husband, HAROLD DRIGGS, began in the middle 1930's during the depression in Tacoma, Washington. She said that when she and her husband moved to Seattle, Washington, they continued their membership and activity in the CP and in the Communist Political Association (CPA). She said that as a result of open criticism of CP functionaries on her part and on the part of her husband, she and her husband were expelled from the CP in 1946, with the proviso that after six months they would reinstate. She said, however, that she and her husband moved, and that they did not reinstate.

The CPA has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

According to [one of the members of the Mission Club of the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM),] MARGARET DRIGGS is also (S)(u) a member of the Mission Club of the PLM. (S)

Source: SF T-5, 4/9/65

The PLM is now known as the PLP.

According to JOHN 5 ROSS, BAPLP leader, MARGARET DRIGGS is no longer in the BAPLP.

Source: SF T-6, 8/15/67

In NG literature distributed in November, 1967, MARGARET DRIGGS described herself as National Guardian representative for Northern California (pro tem).

Source: SF T-7, 11/8/67

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At a "People's World" (PW) meeting held on May 8, 1967, in San Francisco, GEORGE SANDY stated to those present that the NG has been taken over by " rogressive abor thinking people" and that the foreign correspondents who contributed articles will be discontinued by those now running the NG.

Source: SF T-8, 5/10/67

The PW is a west coast communist newspaper.

GEORGE SANDY is a current CP member.

Source: SF T-9, 11/21/67

II. ACTIVITIES

In the May 13, 1967, issue of the NG it was reported that M. S. ARNONI, editor of the "Minority of One" was being presented by the NG to speak on the topic "If and When The US Attacks China" on May 19, 1967, at the Left Inn, 55 Colton Street, San Francisco.

On October 15, 1965, M. S. ARNONI spoke at the International Days of Protest Demonstration, sponsored by the Vietnam Day Committee (VDC), at the University of California at Berkeley (UCB). ARNONI wore what he said was the uniform he wore in a Nazi concentration camp to point out that the German people are not now being killed by invaders but the people of Vietnam are. He said that just as gas was used in the Auschwitz Prison Camp during World War II, it is being used by the US today in Vietnam. He called for an international tribunal to sit in judgment of those committing crimes against mankind and stated that it is such a crime that the leaders of the US are committing in Vietnam. He called President JOHNSON an executioner of the Vietnamese people and, on behalf of the people of the US, called for the impeachment of President JOHNSON for crimes against the people of Vietnam. He said that regardless of what it takes, "We" will stop this machine just as the Germans should have stopped the machine of HITLER before it was too late.

Source: Observation of
Special Agent of
the FBI, 10/15/65

A characterization of the Campus VDC, also known as the VDC, is contained in the Appendix.

On May 19, 1967, the NG sponsored a "Left Inn" at 55 Colton Street, San Francisco. Guest Speaker M. S. ARNONI, editor of "Minority of One", spoke on the theme that the US was not anti-communist in its actions. He stated that everywhere the [redacted] had overthrown regimes, such as in Guatemala, British Guiana, Iran, and the Dominican Republic, those governments had not been communist. He said that the surest way for the government of any nation to enjoy immunity from US intervention was to become communist. He noted that TITO's communism had not been an obstacle to friendly relations between the US and Yugoslavia. He said that the US' main consideration was whether the US could get into a country and exploit it economically. He said that the US fought against not communism, but non-alignment and that this included waging war, politically or militarily against even capitalist nations. He said that the US is opposed to the capitalists of India, for example, because American bankers and capitalists wish to exploit India for themselves.

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ARNONI stated that US began to arm Pakistan to the teeth to threaten India. India finally realized the danger and sought to recover favor by attacking China, which it did in 1962. However, the American press insisted that China had precipitated the attack. ARNONI said this was not so and that China had settled all of its border disputes peacefully and generously. Once India showed that it was on the side of the US, the US began aiding India in return for economical concessions such as no taxes upon Americam corporate earnings in India for 20 years. ARNONI said that the only way for the war in Vietnam to be stopped was to petition the Soviet Union

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to install deterrents in Vietnam rather than simply provide assistance. This would end the war immediately as the USSR kept the US from invading Cuba in 1962 by placing missiles and letting the US know that the USSR would retaliate to aide Cuba. ARNONI also stated that US youth could learn the lessons of history best by visiting National Liberation Front (NLF) type guerillas in Latin America. He said that he and some other friends were organizing a travel bureau and that if any youth were interested, they could contact him and be placed in touch with such movements. ARNONI also said that the Vietnam War was the product of US history. He said the US was started by a war of genocide against the American Indians and that we are the foremost practioners of racism in the entire world.

At the end of the meeting FARRELL BRODY talked about the re-organization of the NG and requested that 200 supporters in the Bay Area try to sustrain the NG with $2.50 a month. thus providing the NG with $1,000 every two months to enable it to continue operations.

Source: SF T-10, 5/29/67

A leaflet has been furnished announcing that an NG party was to be held at the PATTERSONs, 55 Agua Vista Court, Redwood City, California on June 11, 1967, and that the Northern California Guardian Representative, was going to discuss the "New" radical news weekly and its meaning to the peace movement.

Source: SF T-11, 6/12/67

It is noted that Mr. & Mrs. PHYLLIS and JACK OLIVER PATTERSON reside at 55 Agua Vista Court. Redwood City, Calif. PHYLLIS PATTERSON is also known as PHYLLIS WATSON WATSON, nee PHYLLIS MENSINGER.

On November 12, 1959, Mr. & Mrs. JOHN A. WATSON, 55 Agua Vista Court, Redwood City, California, was interviewed by a Special Agent of the FBI, at which time he stated that he was currently involved in obtaining a

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divorce from his wife, PHYLLIS M. WATSON nee PHYLLIS MENSINGER. WATSON said that there had been bickering on the Communist issue in his family for years and that he did not report it to the FBI before this time because he hoped to convert his wife and maintain their family for the benefit of their four small children. He stated that this matter came to a head when his wife objected strenuously to his teaching the children Bible lessons in their home. WATSON advised that his wife's Communist leanings were started when she first became interested in having the children attend a nursery school in San Francisco. He said his wife had never admitted CP membership but continuously spoke in favor of Communism as the only system of rule for the world and a system that was inevitable. WATSON said that his wife took courses at the California Labor School (CLS) in San Francisco. WATSON also stated that his wife had been a subscriber to the PW and "The Worker" and was then active in supporting the NG. He indicated his wife had participated in a fund raising affair for the NG.

"The Worker" is an east coast communist newspaper.

The CLS, Incorporated, 321 Divisadero Street, San Francisco, California has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The monthly fund raising dinner for the NG was held at Connie's Restaurant, 1466 Haight Street, San Francisco, on July 3, 1967. This monthly fund raising dinner is usually held on the first Monday of each month and the NG receives half of the night's proceeds.

Source: SF T-10, 7/7/67

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SF 100-31356
ZJ:jal

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The July 1, 1967, issue of the NG contained the following advertisement:

"The GUARDIAN COMMITTEE
OF NO. CALIFORNIA
invites all readers and friends to
a discussion of the
MIDDLE EAST
and its meaning to the
U.S. anti-war movement
at the LEFT INN
55 Colton St., San Francisco
Friday, July 7 at 8 p.m.
Refreshments and cordiality
Don: $1"

The NG sponsored a forum on the Middle East on July 7, 1967, at 55 Colton Street, San Francisco. FARRELL BRODY and an Egyptian named SHURMANI (ph), described as a graduate student at the UCB, led the forum. FARRELL BRODY discussed politics in Israel and explained that he had lived there and taught in a kibbutz for five years. He referred to the Nationalist Herut Party in Israel as "the right-wing fascist party." Following BRODY's talk, the Egyptian, who described himself as a "progressive Arab," then denounced Israel. He stated that the Arab nations could not submit to "peace with subordination" and he claimed that Israel is racist toward its Arab citizens and toward the Arab refugees. He said the only way to preserve peace in the Middle East would be to "de-Zionize Israel" and to somehow accommodate the refugees in Palestine.

Source: SF T-10, 7/21/67

The July 15, 1967, issue of the NG announced that an NG picnic would be held on July 30, 1967, at Junipero Serra Park, San Bruno, California.

A flier has been furnished announcing that an NG forum on "GI's AND THE WAR" would be held on September 15, 1967, at 55 Colton Street, San Francisco. Speaker was listed as

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BILL CALLISON, editor of "The Bond" which was described as an "anti-war servicemen's newspaper."

Source: SF T-10, 9/14/67

BILL CALLISON who was a student in the Political Science Department at UCB during July, 1965, was Secretary of the Berkeley Chapter of the May 2 Movement (M2M) at that time.

Source: SF T-12, 7/15/65

A characterization of the M2M is contained in the Appendix.

The NG sponsored a forum on September 15, 1967, at 55 Colton Street, San Francisco. MARGARET DRIGGS chaired the forum and introduced BILL CALLISON, editor of "The Bond". CALLISON said that his paper was designed to circulate mainly to servicemen to whom it was mailed free of charge. The last issue was mailed to 1500 servicemen. CALLISON said that this mailing had grown so enormous because one legal clerk in a company had sent in the names of 500 men to whom he had access. CALLISON said that to prevent the Armed Forces from interfering with the distribution of this newspaper, it was mailed First Class in sealed envelopes. CALLISON said that the point of view of the paper, as well as his own point of view, was "frankly Marxist." He said he believed servicemen should be shown that the economy of this society must be placed in the hands of the people to stop the war. CALLISON said that he had split with others on the staff of "The Bond" over this question because some believed that an open socialist approach would "turn people off." CALLISON said he felt that it was important to demonstrate the causes of war to GIs. He said that the reason he had established a paper for the GIs was that when people revolted, the government could always call out the Army. However, if the Army revolted there would be nobody to call out and thus he felt that the soldiers should be approached to fight the system. CALLISON said that his paper did not encourage servicemen openly to rebel, but tried to educate them as to the realities of the system. Then if they refused to obey an order, this was "fine with us." CALLISON said that he knew he might possibly be prosecuted under an act passed in 1948 for attempting to lower the morale of the Armed Forces. He said, however, he thought this act was only pertinent during the time of war.

Following the talk by CALLISON, MARGARET DRIGGS took up a collection for both "The Bond" and the NG.

Sources: SF T-10, 9/18/67,
SF T-11, 9/21/67

III. RELATIONS WITH OTHER GROUPS

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

A characterization of the SDS is contained in the Appendix.

The following leaflet dated June 29, 1967, was obtained during the final session of the National SDS convention held on June 30, 1967, in the Natural Science Building Auditorium, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan:

Source: SF T-14, 7/7/67

June 29, 1967

build sds, build the national guardian--and earn a few bucks, too.

The National Guardian, America's largest circulation independent radical newsweekly, is about to begin [illegible] double circulation from 25,000 to 50,000 readers. The Guardian, as you may know from reading New Left Notes, recently came under total control of its staff and is now published as a cooperative. Some changes have already taken place in the paper and more will follow. The ~~bg~~ biggest change, toward which the paper is evolving, is to become "movement" oriented. Also, the paper plans to vastly improve its content and style.

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To succeed in these intentions -- which can only be vaguely outlined here -- the Guardian will need your help. But it's not one-sided.

There are two ways in which SDSers can be apart of this process:

1. As writers, feeding information to the Guardian from various cities and campuses. This would entail being closely in touch with the radical movement in your community and having a movement perspective. In some areas there is very little to write about. Brief notes every now and then would suffice. Sometimes all hell breaks out and a major article would be requested. The pay is from $5 to $25 per published article.

2. As campus agents, selling subscriptions. The Guardian offers chapters, TOs or just plain members a 50-50 cut on sub sales. A student sub costs $3.50, of which $1.75 would go to the agent. A chapter which undertook a sub drive and sold 100 student subs in two weeks, for instance, would earn $175 (that's one-hundred and seventy-five dollars). Since the Guardian plans to become more relevant to students, and will conduct a campus promotion drive in the fall (ads in student papers, posters, etc.) it would not at all be impossible to sell 100 or more subs.

A deal like this has three purposes: First, it would build the new, radical Guardian by increasing campus readership. Second, it would help build SDS by publishing material that would tend to increase membership and support. Third it would add a couple of dollars to the generally limited treasury of the chapter, TO, or member-correspondent.

For further information, giving complete details, write:

News coordinator
National Guardian
197 East 4th Street
New York, N. Y. 10009
(212-OR 5-3800)

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Do it soon becausethe paper plans the launch the promotion campaign in a few weeks and wants to coordinate the drive with campus agents.

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BAY AREA PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY, aka
Bay Area Progressive Movement,
Bay Area Progressive Labor,
"Progressive Labor"

The masthead in the February 8, 1965 issue of "Spark" reflects it is published by the Progressive Labor Movement of the Bay Area, P.O. Box 73, Station A, Berkeley...page 4 of this issue of "Spark" carries an article describing MORT SCHEER as the "West Coast organizer" of the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM).

A source advised on January 7, 1965, that MORTIMER SCHEER, following a press conference in San Francisco, California, on January 7, 1965, related that he was the West Coast Organizer for the PLM and National Vice Chairman. PLM was started about three years ago as a national organization located mainly in the New York and Buffalo areas, and he has been here since last July striving to organize PLM. He stated PLM has several publications, including "Progressive Labor," a monthly, and the "Marxist-Leninist Quarterly."

The April 19, 1965 issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle," a daily San Francisco newspaper, carried an article which related that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) was officially formed April 18, 1965, after a four day convention in New York. PLP was formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement and MORT SCHEER was elected as one of the vice presidents of PLP.

A second source advised during May, 1967, that the Bay Area Progressive Labor Party (BAPLP) rents an office at 2929 - 16th Street, San Francisco, California, which is used as a headquarters and mailing address.

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SF 100-31356

CAMPUS VIETNAM DAY COMMITTEE,
formerly known as the
Vietnam Day Committee (VDC),
Berkeley

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A source advised in May, 1965 that the VDC was founded in May, 1965 to organize the May 21-22, 1965 community "teach-in" on the University of California, Berkeley, California (UCB) Campus.

Public literature distributed by the VDC revealed that the purpose of the VDC was to mold public opinion to force withdrawal of the United States from Vietnam and to utilize dramatic, large-scale demonstrations in increasing public alarm about the Vietnam war.

A second source advised on June 24, 1966 that at a meeting of the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in San Francisco, California on June 22, 1966, KIPP DAWSON, whom source identified as a member of the Branch, commented among other things that "with our help," the VDC was finally recognized as a political power and was under "our control."

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A third source related on September 29, 1966 that as of September 29, 1966, the VDC was controlled and dominated by PETE CAMEJO. Source added that the VDC was no longer under the control of the old stalwarts of the original VDC and there was no continuity between the original and current VDC.

A fourth source on October 27, 1966 identified PETE CAMEJO as a member of the SWP.

Third source informed on April 18, 1967 that the activities of the VDC had been taken over by the Campus VDC, and there no longer was an off-campus VDC in Berkeley. Source related Campus VDC is a registered on-Campus organization with UCB. Source added that for the time being, Campus VDC is expected to remain dormant. However, its name and skeletal organization would be kept alive by the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) as a "standby organization" to be used only when necessary.

Third source identified JANICE FRANK as Treasurer of the Campus VDC and stated those active in the Campus VDC when it functioned included CARL FRANK and JACK SANDERS who consulted with SWP and YSA leadership regarding Campus VDC operations and activities.

Third source on April 24, 1967 identified JANICE FRANK and JACK SANDERS as members of the Berkeley Branch of the YSA.

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Third source on February 6, 1967 identified CARL FRANK as a member of the Berkeley Branch of the YSA.

APPENDIX

1.

MAY 2 MOVEMENT

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A source advised on March 3, 1965, as follows:

The May 2 Movement (M2M), formerly known as the May 2 Committee, was organized on March 14, 1964, at New Haven, Connecticut, by a group of young people participating in a symposium "Socialism in America" being held at Yale University. The original aim of the M2M was to plan and execute a demonstration in New York City on May 2, 1964, demanding withdrawal of United States troops from Viet Nam.

The M2M was dominated and controlled by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) and had for its aim and purpose the embarrassment of the United States Government by meetings, rallies, picketing demonstrations, and formation of university level clubs at which a Marxist-Leninist oriented approach and analysis was taken of United States domestic and foreign policies. This source advised on May 19, 1965, that the headquarters of the M2M was 640 Broadway, New York City, Room 307.

A second source advised on February 9, 1966, that the M2M was officially dissolved as an organization on February 6, 1966, at a meeting held on the same date in New York City, by the leadership of M2M and the Progressive Labor Party.

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"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, revised and published December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, contains the following on Page 193 concerning "National Guardian:"

1. "established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly ***. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial by Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, August 25, 1956, p. 12.)

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1. PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15, - 18, 1965, at New york, New York, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times" City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as MILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and WILLIAM EPTON of New York, and MORT SCHEER of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. ROSEN and Mr. SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line".

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bi-monthly magazine, "Challenge", a monthly New York City newspaper, and "Spark", a West Coast newspaper.

The April, 1967, issue of "Challenge", page 14, states that, "This paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life-where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level".

A second source advised on September 26, 1966, that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square, West, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

APPENDIX

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SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

A source advised on August 1, 1960, that the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was formed approximately in the early part of 1938, and the Oakland Branch of the SWP was formed in the latter part of 1938.

A second source advised on October 26, 1959, that the name of the Oakland Branch of the SWP was changed to the Oakland - Berkeley Branch of the SWP.

A third source advised on May 1, 1967, that the San Francisco Branch and the Oakland - Berkeley Branch of the SWP follow the policies and directives of the National SWP with which they are affiliated.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965 SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966 issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The National Headquarters of this organization as of April 18,1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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APPENDIX

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YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (known in the San Francisco Bay Area as the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance, aka., the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist)

A source advised on May 16, 1960, that the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance (BAYSA) was formed in February, 1958, as the Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist (BACYS). At a later stage in its development prior to adoption of the name BAYSA, the organization was known as the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance (BACYSA).

The source advised that as a result of a national convention held April 15 - 17, 1960, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the BAYSA became a branch of the national organization to be known as the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and will carry out in the Northern California area the policies of the YSA.

A second source advised May 1, 1967, that the BAYSA is currently active and is composed of two locals: The San Francisco YSA and the Berkeley YSA.

The first source advised on May 1, 1967, that the BAYSA, although ostensibly an independent organization, is in reality controlled by the San Francisco Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Oakland Branch, SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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APPENDIX

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1.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960 issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SPW) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of "Young Socialist" is set out separately.

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APPENDIX

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1.

"YOUNG SOCIALIST"

The "Young Socialist" is a magazine published five times a year by the Young Socialist Alliance. The October, 1964, edition, the initial edition utilizing the magazine format, relates that this magazine succeeds the "Young Socialist" newspaper in an effort to provide "more facts on more general issues than a small newspaper can."

The newspaper "Young Socialist" was formerly described as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The "Young Socialist" maintains headquarters at Room 535, 41 Union Square West, New York City, and the mailing address of P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

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APPENDIX

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SA JOSEPH SEIBEL observed M. S. ARNONI on 10/15/65.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source	File Where Located
SF T-1 is [redacted]	Characterization of FARRELL BRODY
SF T-2 and SF T-3 are SF T-1 and SF T-2 respectively in report of SA WALLACE R. HERTMAN, dated 4/18/61, Mexico, D.F., in case entitled "ROBERT RANDOLPH, SM-C," Bufile 100-392291 (~~C~~)(U)	Characterization of Mr. and Mrs. ROBERT RANDOLPH
SF T-4 is [redacted] (~~C~~)(U)	[redacted] (~~C~~)(U)
SF [redacted] (~~C~~)(U)	Characterization of MARGARET DRIGGS
SF T-6 is [redacted] (~~C~~)(U)	Characterization of MARGARET DRIGGS
SF T-7 is FBI P.O. Box 416, San Francisco, California (~~C~~)(~~X~~)(~~C~~)(U)	100-31356-1897 (~~C~~)(~~X~~)(~~C~~)(U)
SF T-8 is [redacted] (~~C~~)(U)	[redacted] (C)(U)
SF T-9 is [redacted])(U)	Characterization of GEORGE SANDY
SF T-10 is [redacted] (~~C~~)(U)	[redacted] (U) (~~C~~)

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